ॐ

स्वाध्याय मञ्जरी का बीसवां पुष्प

[अग्निहोत्र सम्बन्धी सार गर्भित निबन्ध]

★

लेखक
देवराज विद्यावाचस्पति

★

श्रद्धानन्द स्मारक निधि के सभासदों की सेवा में
गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय कांगड़ी की ओर से
सम्वत् २००८ की भेट

★

मूल्य २।)

विषय-सूची

★

सोमसरोवर— लेखक श्री चमूपति एम. ए.। यह ग्रन्थ सामवेद के पवमान पर्व का सुललित भाष्य है। इस पुस्तक का पाठ पाठक के हृदय में कभी अद्भुत तरङ्ग, कभी वीर तरङ्ग और कभी शान्त तरङ्ग प्रवाहित करके हृदय को आलोकित कर देता है। इन्हीं तरङ्गों से अठखेलिया करता हुआ भक्त अपने प्रियतम उपास्यदेव के ध्यान में मग्न हो जाता है। सामवेद भक्तों के लिये भक्ति का स्रोत है। पाठक भक्तिरस के इस झरने का पयःपान करें, निश्चिन्तता से अध्ययन करें, मनन करें। पुस्तक की भाषा सजीव है, बढ़िया कागज, छपाई सफाई उत्तम है। मूल्य सजिल्द २), अजिल्द १॥)।

वेद गीताञ्जली--इसमें दाइलौ के लगभग वेदमन्त्र, उनका अर्थ और उन पर एक-एक सुन्दर हिन्दी कविता है। कविता मधुर स्वर में प्रार्थना के समय गाने योग्य है। इनका स्थान २ पर प्रचार भी हो रहा है। श्री सुमित्रानन्दन पन्त, गिरिजा शङ्कर मिश्र, सन्तप्रसाद वर्मा, श्री चमूपति, प्रियहंस, परमहंस, निरीह व निश्चिन्त आदि हिन्दी के प्रसिद्ध कवियों ने इस गीताञ्जली के संकलन में सहयोग दिया है। पुस्तक की छपाई सफाई बढ़िया है। मूल्य २)।

धर्मोपदेश--(तीन भाग) यह पुस्तक श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द महाराज के उच्च, गम्भीर आत्मा को उठाने वाले उपदेशों का संग्रह है। संग्रहकर्ता हैं श्री स्वामी जी के अनन्य भक्त लाला लब्भूराम जी नैय्यड़। मूल्य प्रथम भाग १।), द्वितीय भाग १), तृतीय भाग १॥)।

पता—प्रकाशन मन्दिर, गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय कांगड़ी, हरिद्वार।

अग्निहोत्र

अग्निहोत्र की यज्ञ रूपता और विविधरूपता

सन्ध्या कर्म करने के पश्चात साधक अग्निहोत्र कर्म मे प्रवृत्त होता है। अग्निहोत्र को देवयज्ञ भी कहते है।

हवन होत्रम, अग्नौ हवनम अग्निहोत्रम। किसी पदार्थ का अग्नि मे डालने का नाम अग्निहोत्र है। हूयते इति होत्रम्। जो पदार्थ डाला जाय उसे होत्र कहते है। अग्नि मे जो पदार्थ डाला जाता है उस पदार्थ का नाम भी अग्निहोत्र है। अग्नि मे अग्नि के उपयोगी द्रव्य डालने से अग्निहोत्र कर्म किया जाता है। अग्नि का उपयोगी द्रव्य वह द्रव्य है जो अग्नि के द्वारा छिन्न भिन्न होकर अग्नि के स्वरूप (शरीर) को बनाता है। अग्नि द्रव्य को छिन्न भिन्न करके नये नये रूप बनाया करता है।

जितने रूप विश्व मे विद्यमान है वे सब अग्नि ने बनाये है। वे सब प्रजा है और अग्नि प्रजापति है। अग्नि जिस मसाले को लेकर विश्व के रूप को बनाता है उस का नाम सोम है। अग्नि और सोम के मेल से सम्पूर्ण विश्व बना है। अग्नि अस्थिर पदार्थ है और सोम स्थिर पदार्थ है। सृष्टि मे अग्नि मे सोम की आहुति अपने आप पड़ती रहती है उसी से सब रूप स्थिर प्रतीत हो रहे है। सोम की निरन्तर अत्यधिक मात्रा मे आहुति पड़ने

से अग्नि का बल कम हो जाता है। अग्नि शनैः २ सोम को पदार्थ में से निकालता रहता है और पदार्थ को जीर्ण कर देता है और पश्चात् स्वयं भी शान्त हो जाता है। जब तक अग्नि में सोम के आने का बल अधिक रहता है तब तक पदार्थ की वृद्धि होती रहती है जब सोम के पड़ने का बल अग्नि के बल के समान होता है तब स्थिति होती है और जब सोम के आने का बल अग्नि के बल से न्यून हो जाता है तब क्षय होने लगता है और अन्त को मृत्यु हो जाती है। इसीलिये कहा है—

अग्निषोमात्मक जगत्।

अग्नि में सोम की आहुति पड़ने का नाम अग्निहोत्र है। सृष्टि में निरन्तर अग्नि होत्र हो रहा है। सूर्य में निरन्तर सोम की आहुति पड़ रही है, सूर्य चमक रहा है। पृथिवी की अग्नि में सोम की आहुति पड़ रही है, अग्नि जल रहा है—प्रदीप्त हो रहा है। सूर्य भी ज्योति है और अग्नि भी ज्योति है। ज्योति के दो रूप हैं, १ सूर्य २ अग्नि।

सोम दाह्य है और अग्नि दाहक है। दाहक का काम है अवयवों को फैला देना। दाह्य सोम दाहक अग्नि से उलटा है वह अवयवों को संकुचित करने वाला है। अग्नि प्रसारधर्मा है और सोम संकोचधर्मा है। प्रसारधर्मा दोनों ज्योतियों में संकोचधर्मा सोम की आहुति निरन्तर पड़ती रहती है।

दिन में सूर्य ज्योति सोम की आहुति विशेष ग्रहण करती है। पृथिवी से निरन्तर प्रसृत होता हुआ अग्नि रात को विशेष रूप से सोम को ग्रहण करता है। इसी के अनुकरण पर याजक

या अग्निहोत्री मनुष्य भी प्रातःकाल 'सूर्योज्योति' मन्त्र से अरुणोदयकाल के पश्चात् अर्थात् सूर्योज्योति में आहुति देता है और सायंकाल अस्तोन्मुख सूर्य होने पर अर्थात् अग्नि ज्योति में 'अग्निर्ज्योति' मन्त्र से आहुति देता है। प्रातःकाल और सायंकाल को इन आहुति मन्त्रों में सूर्य ज्योति और अग्नि ज्योति दोनों ज्योतियों का वर्णन है। सूर्य ज्योति और अग्नि ज्योतियों का अपने २ समय में ध्यान करके 'भूः, भुवः और स्वः' तीनों लोक (पृथिवी, अन्तरिक्ष, द्यौ) और उनके तीनों लोकों (अग्नि, वायु, आदित्य = सूर्य और अध्यात्म सम्बन्ध में उनके तीनों लोकों (प्राण, अपान, व्यान) का ध्यान किया जाता है।

लोक तीन ही नहीं हैं, चौथा भी लोक है जिसको आपो-लोक कहते हैं। शतपथ ब्राह्मण कहता है—

अस्ति वै चतुर्थो देव लोकः—आपः।

सम्पूर्ण सौर मण्डल आपो लोक के अन्तर्गत है। तीनों लोकों का कथन करने के पश्चात् अब एक मन्त्र में तीनों लोकों के साथ चतुर्थ लोक को मिलाकर और फिर सब लोकों को इकट्ठा एक ओम् शब्द से कहते हैं—

आपोज्योति रसोऽमृतं ब्रह्मभूर्भुवः स्वरोम्।

अन्त में इस सब का पूर्ण शब्द से करते हैं—

सर्वं वै पूर्णम्।

सब को मिला कर ओम् शब्द से कहा था, अब उसे पूर्ण कहा है। अतः ओम् पूर्ण है। कहा है—

ओमित्येतत् सर्वमिदं तस्योपव्याख्यानम् ।

ओम् यह सब पूर्ण है। जो कुछ दीखता है यह सब उस ओम् की व्याख्या है। सब देव मिलकर पूर्ण ओम् का यजन कर रहे हैं—उसकी व्याख्या कर रहे हैं—सृष्टि के एक एक रूप को प्रकट कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार यह सब सृष्टि देवयज्ञ है।

ब्रह्मयज्ञ मे तो आत्मा की पूर्णता का ध्यान था। देवयज्ञ उस पूर्ण एक ब्रह्म का, सृष्टि निर्माण के लिये, विविध शक्तियों के रूप मे विकास है वा आत्मा का शरीर में इन्द्रियों के रूप में विकास है। देवयज्ञ का ही दूसरा नाम अग्निहोत्र है। जैसे देवयज्ञ में देवों का परस्पर मेल होता है वैसे अग्निहोत्र मे भी होता है। शतपथ में कहा है--

सूर्योऽग्निहोत्रम् ।

हूयते यत्र इति होत्रम्, अग्निश्चासौ होत्रश्चे ति अग्नि होत्रम्। सूर्य अग्नि है उसमें सोम का सवदिक् से होम होता रहता है अतः सूर्य अग्निहोत्र है। पार्थिव अग्नि की ज्वाला ऊपर को जाती है और उसमे चारों ओर से वायु के साथ साथ इन्द्र प्रभृति सब प्राण देव अग्नि की ज्वाला मे प्रविष्ट होते है और अग्नि में पड़े हुये सोम (ओषधियों) को खाते है—उनके साथ युक्त होते है और विविध प्रकार के जीवनोपयोगी पदार्थों का निर्माण करते है। ये पदार्थ अन्तरिक्ष व्यापी जल मे मिले हुए पृथिवी के द्वारा चूसे जाते हैं, औषधि आदि विविध पदार्थों का निर्माण करते हैं। अग्नि देवों का मुख है। अग्नि पदार्थों को सूक्ष्म करता है। सूक्ष्म हुए पदार्थों के साथ देव

अर्थात् प्राकृतिक शक्तियां वा सूक्ष्म पदार्थ संबद्ध होते हैं।

सूर्य की अग्नि के साथ सोम की विविध मात्रा और संबंध के तारतम्य से पदार्थों का निर्माण होता है और वे पदार्थ सूर्य की रश्मियों के द्वारा पृथ्वी में आते हैं और स्थूल रूप धारण करते हैं। इस प्रकार पदार्थों की उत्पत्ति का आधार सूर्य की अग्नि के होने से सूर्य को अग्निहोत्र कहा है।

जैसे सूर्य का अग्नि अग्निहोत्र है वैसे पार्थिव अग्नि भी अग्निहोत्र है। पार्थिव अग्नि में भी सोम का हवन चारों ओर से होता रहता है। इसके अतिरिक्त सूर्य की अग्नि से निर्मित पदार्थों का परिपाक (स्थूल रूप की प्राप्ति) पार्थिव अग्नि के द्वारा होता है। अतः इस परिपाक के कारण पार्थिव व अग्नि का नाम गार्हपत्य अग्नि और सूर्याग्नि का नाम आहवनीयाग्नि रक्खा है। पृथिवी सौर मण्डल के अन्तर्गत होने से सूर्य के द्वारा दिये हुए पदार्थों को ग्रहण किया करती है। सूर्य पृथिवी को नानाविध पदार्थ दे देकर, पुष्ट किया करता है और पृथ्वी भी नानाविध पदार्थ अग्नि के द्वारा सूर्य को दिया करती है। पृथ्वी से निरन्तर जाते हुए अग्नि में यज्ञकर्त्ता इष्टपदार्थ को डाल कर अपना मनोयोग करता है और क्रमशः उस मनोयोग के द्वारा दिव्य पदार्थों के साथ सम्बन्ध करता है। इस प्रकार दिव्य पदार्थों के साथ सम्बन्ध करने का अग्निहोत्र एक साधन है।

जब साधक अपने वासनामय जगत् का होम आत्माग्नि में करता है तब उसका मन पवित्र हो जाता है। वह सम्पूर्ण जगत् को आत्मा के विकास के रूप में आत्ममय देखता है। वह ब्रह्माग्नि होत्र या आत्माग्निहोत्र है। "

शिष्य गुरुरूप अग्नि को अपने मन के श्रद्धाबल से समिन्धन करता है। समिद्ध गुरुरूप अग्नि में श्रद्धा के द्वारा ही शिष्य अपनी अभिलाषाओं का होम करता है। गुरुरूप अग्नि में अभिलाषाओं के होम से वे अभिलाषायें ज्ञान अग्नि का रूप होकर चमक जाती है और सफल होती है। इस श्रद्धा रूप होम से शिष्य को श्रुत (परि पक्व ज्ञान) प्राप्त होता है।

श्रद्धयाऽग्निः समिध्यते श्रद्धया हूयते हविः।
श्रद्धां भगस्य मूर्धनि श्रद्धे श्रद्धापयेह नः॥

किसी एक मर्यादा से बंधे हुये मनुष्य अपने व्यापक रूप अग्नि से व्रत ग्रहण करते हैं कि अमुक कार्य विशेष को पूरा करेंगे। अनुगामी मनुष्य अपने आपको पूरी तरह इसे अपने नेता के अधीन करता है। नेता उसे अपनी भावनाओं से भावित करता है इससे अनुगामी के हृदय की अग्नि सुप्रदीप्त हो जाती है तब जो आदेश वह नेता उन अनुगामी मनुष्यों को देता है उसका पूरी तरह से पालन होता है और कार्य में सफलता होती है।

मनुष्य अपनी चित्तवृत्तियों को समाहित करता है—आत्माग्नि में उनका हवन करता है। इस हवन से उसकी बुद्धि में जागृति हो जाती है और अनेक प्रकार की नई नई बुद्धियों की स्फुरणा होने लगती है।

स्वस्थे चित्ते बुद्धयः प्रस्फुरन्ति।

इस प्रकार आधिदैविक, आध्यात्मिक और आधिभौतिक भेद से अग्निहोत्र के नाना स्वरूप हैं। सभी रूपों में अग्नि और

सोम का सम्बन्ध समान है। एक अग्नि और दूसरा पदार्थ जिसका होम होता है वह सोम है। अग्नि और सोम के सम्बन्ध से विविध प्रकार के फलों की उत्पत्ति हो रही है।

जिस प्रकार ईश्वर की सृष्टि में अग्निहोत्र हो रहा है उसी के अनुकरण पर मनुष्य भी अग्निहोत्र किया करता है और नानाविध पदार्थों की उत्पत्ति किया करता है। अपनी जाठराग्नि मे मनुष्य अन्न का हवन किया करता है। यह अन्न इडा और गो नाम से कहा जाता है। इडा शब्द का अर्थ खाने की चीज वा अन्न है और भूमि भी इसका अर्थ है। भूमि और अन्न को गो भी कहते है। गोमाता (भूमि माता) के रस वा सोम का सूर्य मे हवन होता रहता है। गोमाता का रस अन्न रूप मे परिणत हुआ = सूर्याग्नि की प्रतिनिधि जाठराग्नि मे हुत होता है। गोरस (पृथ्वी के रस) मे विद्यमान सोम का समुद्भव चन्द्रमा सोमरूप से अन्तरिक्ष मे विद्यमान है। यह चन्द्रमा पृथ्वी के रस मे विद्यमान सोम पदार्थ को ग्रहण कर सूर्याग्नि मे आहुत किया करता है।

चन्द्रमा की उत्पत्ति ईश्वरीय मन से हुई है। कहा है—

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातः।

ईश्वरीय मनोमय कला का अश मनुष्य देह मे विद्यमान है। उस मन के लिये कहा है—

अन्नमयं हि सोम्य! मनः।

अन्न मे विद्यमान सूक्ष्म सोम तत्व से मनुष्य का मन धात्वान्तर परिणाम मे अन्तिम परिणाम के रूप मे होता रहता

है। इस प्रकार जिस गोरस में विद्यमान सोम का परिणाम अन्तरिक्ष में विद्यमान चन्द्रमा है उसी गोरस के सोमतत्व का परिणाम मनुष्य देह में मन है। इस प्रकार मन गो का वत्स है। अन्न गौ के साथ मन बंधता है तो अन्न अपने अनुकूल पड़ता है। यदि मन अन्न में नहीं लगा—मन ने अन्न को ग्रहण नहीं किया तो वह अन्न अपने उदर में नहीं ठहरता। गोरूप अन्न के साथ वत्सरूप मन मिलता है तो अन्न का रस निकलता है जैसे बछड़ा गौ को लगता है तो दूध निकलता है। अन्न रूप गौ के दोहन से निकले हुए रस (दुग्ध) की आहुति जठराग्नि में पड़ती है तो उस रस के सोम भाग से अग्नि का सम्बन्ध होकर अग्नि तृप्त होता है और शरीर की धातुओं का पोषण करता है।

एक मनुष्य की उच्चारित वाक् श्रवण द्वारा दूसरे मनुष्य के मस्तिष्क को प्राप्त होती है। वाक् गौ है। वाक् से मनुष्य अपने मन को प्रकाशित करता है। वाक् जाती है तो मन वाक् का रस होकर उसके साथ जाता है। जो मनुष्य वाक् को सुनता है वह उसके मनरूपी रस को अपने मन के द्वारा ग्रहण करता है। वत्सरूप मन वाक्रूप गौ का दोहन करता है और उस अवस्था में ज्ञान रस की प्राप्ति होती है। वाक् को गौ कहा है:—

वाचंधेनुमुपासीत।

इस प्रकार पता लगता है कि अग्निहोत्र बिना गौ के नहीं होता। अग्नि में जिस सोम की आहुति होती है वह सोम गौ

से प्राप्त होता है। गौ से प्राप्त होने वाला सोम गोरस में रहता है जिस गौ से अग्निहोत्र कर्म के लिए सोम प्राप्त होता है उस गौ को अग्निहोत्री गौ कहते हैं। अग्निहोत्र कर्म करने वाले व्यक्ति को प्रति दिन प्रातः सायं अग्निहोत्री गौ का उपस्थान करना पड़ता है। नहीं उपस्थान करेगा तो सोम के लिए गोरस को कैसे प्राप्त करेगा। उपस्थान करने से यज्ञकर्ता के अपने आत्मा का सम्बन्ध सूत्र दृढ़ होता है।

उपस्थान कर्ता गौ का उपस्थान गार्हपत्य कुण्ड के पश्चिम की ओर किया करता है। जिस समय उपस्थान करता है तो गौ को बुलाता है—

इडे आ, अदिते आ, सरस्वती आ।

इडे एहि, अदिते एहि, सरस्वती एहि।

क्योंकि इडा अदिति और सरस्वती तीनों ही गौ है।

इडा हि गौरदितिर्हि गौः सरस्वती हि गौः।

अग्निहोत्र का गौ के साथ कितना घना सम्बन्ध है यह शतपथ के ११ वें काण्ड के तृतीय अध्याय के द्वितीय ब्राह्मण से अच्छी तरह स्पष्ट हो जाता है। इस ब्राह्मण में अग्निहोत्र का फल बतलाया है कि जो अग्निहोत्र सम्बन्धी छः मिथुनों (जोड़ों) को जानता है उसकी संतान सर्वदा स्त्री पुरुष रूप में ही हुआ करती है अर्थात् उसको सन्तति विच्छेद नहीं होता। वे छः मिथुन इस प्रकार हैं—

१. यजमान और पत्नी। इसका मतलब है कि बिना पत्नी के अग्निहोत्र नहीं होता।

२. वत्स और अग्निहोत्री। इसका मतलब है कि अग्निहोत्री गौ पुंवत्सा (बछड़े वाली) होनी चाहिए।

३. स्थाली और अङ्गार।

४. स्रुक् और स्रुव।

५. आहवनीय और समित्।

६. आहुति और स्वाहाकार।

यो ह वा अग्निहोत्रे षण्मिथुनानि वेद मिथुनेन मिथुनेन ह प्रजायते सर्वाभिः प्रजातिभिः। यजमानश्च पत्नी च तदेकं मिथुनम्। तस्मादस्या पत्नीवदग्निहोत्रं स्यादेतन्मिथुनमुपाप्नवानीति। वत्सश्चाग्निहोत्री च तदेकं मिथुनम्। तस्मादस्य पुंवत्साऽग्निहोत्रीस्यादेतन्मिथुनमुपाप्नवानीति। स्थाली चाङ्गाराश्च तदेकं मिथुनम्। स्रुक् च स्रुवश्च तदेकं मिथुनम्। आहवनीयश्च समिच्च तदेकं मिथुनम्। आहुतिश्च स्वाहाकारश्च तदेकं मिथुनम्। एतानि हवाग्निहोत्रे षण्मिथुनानि। तानि य एवं वेद मिथुनेन मिथुनेन ह प्रजायते सर्वाभिः प्रजातिभिः॥

शतपथ ब्रा०, काण्ड ११, अध्याय ३, ब्राह्मण २।

यद्यपि अग्निहोत्र कर्म में विवाहित आहिताग्नि गृहस्थी मनुष्य का ही अधिकार है तथापि महर्षि याज्ञवल्क्य ने शतपथ में ब्रह्मचारी का भी थोड़ा सम्बन्ध बतलाया है जो इसी के अगले ब्राह्मण से जानना चाहिये।

प्रश्न उठता है कि ब्रह्म ने मृत्यु को सब प्रजाएं देदीं परन्तु ब्रह्मचारी नहीं दिया। मृत्यु ने कहा इसमें भी मेरा हिस्सा होना चाहिये। ब्रह्म ने कहा अच्छा ब्रह्मचारी जिस रात समिधाहरण न करे उस रात तेरा (मृत्यु का) इसपर अधिकार है। इस कारण जिस रात ब्रह्मचारी समिधाहरण नहीं करता उस रात वह अपनी आयु का थोड़ा सा भाग खो देता है। इस कारण ब्रह्मचारी का कर्तव्य है कि समिधाहरण करे कि कहीं आयु कम न हो जाय।

जो ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत को धारण करता है वह दीर्घ सत्र का आरम्भ करता है। ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत की दीक्षा के समय जिस समिध का आधान करता है वह इसकी प्रथम समिधा है और स्नातक होने के समय जिस समिध का आधान करता है वह इसकी अन्तिम समिधा है, बीच की सब समिधायें ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत रूपी दीर्घ सत्र की हैं।

ब्रह्म वै मृत्यवे प्रजाः प्रायच्छत् तस्मै ब्रह्मचारिणमेव न प्रायच्छत् । सोऽब्रवीत् अस्तु मह्यमप्येतस्मिन् भाग इति । यामेव रात्रिं समिधं नाहराता इति । तस्माद् या रात्रिं ब्रह्मचारी समिधं नाहरति आयुष एव तामवदाय वसति तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारी समिधमाहरेन्नेदायुषोऽवदाय वसानीति ॥ १ ॥ दीर्घसत्रं वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति, स यामुपयन्त्समिधमादधाति सा प्रायणीया यां स्नास्यन्त्सोदयनीया, अथ या अन्तरेण सत्र्या एवास्य ताः ॥ २ ॥

ब्रह्म का जिज्ञासु बालक अर्थात् ब्राह्मण ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत को ग्रहण करता हुआ अपने दैनिक कार्यक्रम को चार भागों में विभक्त करके भूतों की सेवा में लगा देता है। चतुर्थांश से अग्नि की सेवा करना है कि अग्नि प्रज्वलित रहे। अग्नि की सेवा करके अग्नि को अपना लेता है। अग्नि को ब्रह्मज्ञानोपयोगी करके अपने आत्मा में धारण कर लेता है फिर वह अग्नि ब्रह्मचारी में स्थिर हो जाता है, इसको छोड़ता नहीं। ब्रह्मचारी के आत्मा में ब्रह्मज्ञान की प्राप्ति के लिये जो एक प्रकार की हवस है—बिकलता है—तीव्र उत्कण्ठा है वह अग्नि का स्वरूप है। उसकी सेवा ब्रह्मचारी को करनी पड़ती है कि वह बुझने न पावे और मन्द भी न होने पाये। अग्नि के मन्द हो जाने से ब्रह्मचारी का ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत बिना उद्देश्य का हो जायगा, नीरस और बे मतलब का होकर बोझ मालूम पड़ने लगेगा। इसलिए ब्रह्मचारी का कर्तव्य है कि अपने समय के चतुर्थांश भाग को श्रद्धायुक्त जिज्ञासा के द्वारा अग्नि सेवा के लिए अर्पण करदे जिससे कि अग्नि मन्द न होने पावे। इसी के चिह्न के रूप में भौतिक अग्नि में समिधा डालकर अग्नि का बुझने से बचाना होता है साथ ही अग्नि के प्रज्वलित होने से आत्मा को प्रज्वलित रखने के लिये प्रेरणा लेनी होती है।

ब्रह्मज्ञानोपयोगी उत्साह रूप अग्नि को अर्थात् इन्द्र प्राण (aggressive force) को तीव्र कर लेना मात्र ही पर्याप्त नहीं है प्रत्युत अग्नि की यह तीव्रता संस्कृत होनी चाहिये उसमें किसी प्रकार का कालुष्य नहीं होना चाहिये। कलुषित अग्नि में तीव्रता नहीं होती अथवा तीव्र होकर वह दूसरों के अपकार

में प्रयुक्त होती है। यज्ञिय वृक्षों की समिधा से प्रदीप्त अग्नि निधूम, निर्गन्ध और तप्त होती है। आत्माग्नि को ब्रह्मज्ञान रूपी वृक्ष की श्रद्धा समिधा से प्रतिदिन सुदीप्त करना होता है। ब्रह्म अर्थात् अग्नि का वृक्ष पृथ्वी से द्युतक त्रिकाण्डात्मक है। त्रिकाण्डात्मक अग्नि वृक्ष ऋग् यजुः साम रूप से त्रिविद्यामय है। ब्रह्मचारी ने अपनी आत्माग्नि को ऋग् यजुः सामात्मक ज्ञान की तीन समिधाओं से प्रतिदिन प्रदीप्त करना होता है। इससे उसका आत्मनिर्माण होता है। आत्मा उज्वल होता है। ज्ञानमय आत्मा की एक एक कला ज्ञानमय समिधा के प्रात्याहिक एक एक आधान से खुलती और खिलती चली जाती है। जिस दिन ब्रह्मचारी प्रमाद से समिधाधान नहीं करता उस दिन उसकी ज्ञान कला तो खुलती ही नहीं प्रत्युत वह आवरणकारक वासनामूलक कर्म बन्धन से अर्थात् मृत्यु से बद्ध रह जाता है वा बद्ध हो जाता है। इस प्रकार जिस दिन ब्रह्मचारी समिधाधान नहीं करता उस दिन मृत्यु उस पर आक्रमण करती है अर्थात् उसके आत्मा कास के स्थान में आत्मह्रास के कारण उसकी आयु का हर लेती है। ब्रह्मचारी की ब्रह्मज्ञान की प्राप्ति कलुषता रहित शुद्ध संस्कृत रूप में तभी कहलाती है जब वह लोकैषणा और वित्तैषणा के बन्धनों से मुक्त होकर हो रही हो। यदि इन एषणाओं के आवरणों से आवृत उसका आत्मा ब्रह्मज्ञान की प्राप्ति में लगा है तो भी वह पाप्मा से आवृत रहने से मृत्यु से ग्रस्त हो है, मुक्त नहीं है। इसलिये ब्रह्मचारी के लिये उचित है कि इन एषणाओं से पृथक् रह कर संस्कृत रूप में ब्रह्माग्नि को आत्मा में धारण करे। इस प्रकार ब्रह्मचारी अपने सम्पूर्ण समय का चतुर्थांश अग्नि सेवा में बितावे।

अग्नि की सेवा करता हुआ ब्रह्मचारी अपने समय का चतुर्थ भाग मृत्यु की सेवा मे बितावे। क्योंकि ज्ञान—अग्नि की सेवा करते हुए हो सकता है कि ब्रह्मचारी का मन यश प्राप्ति का वा वित्तोपार्जन का ज्ञानप्राप्ति का लक्ष्य बना ले। इसलिये लोकैषणा और वित्तैषणा ब्रह्मचारी के लिये मृत्यु है—उसकी आत्मज्योति पर आवरण है। ज्ञान ज्योति से दीप्त आत्मा के होने का स्वतः परिणाम यश और धन की प्राप्ति होना चाहिए, किन्तु ब्रह्मचारी का मन ज्ञान का यश और धन की प्राप्ति का साधन बनाने की ओर नहीं जाना चाहिए क्योंकि इससे ज्ञान गौण हो जावेगा और यश तथा धन की प्राप्ति मुख्य हो जावेंगे। यश और धन की प्राप्ति की ओर मन के झुक जाने से वे सब लौकिक कृत्रिम उपाय मन में उठने लगेंगे जिन में उसका आत्मा अनृत प्रवाह मे बहकर कलुषित और मलिन हो जावेगा। मिथ्याभिमान और कृत्रिमता ये मनुष्य के शुद्ध निर्दोष आत्मा पर मृत्यु रूप आवरण है। मिथ्याभिमान और कृत्रिमता से बचने के लिये ब्रह्मचारी को चाहिए कि किसी अपने सम्बन्धी आदि से मासिक फीस आदि के रूप मे धन के आधार पर अपना निर्वाह न करे। इस प्रकार निर्वाह करने मे ब्रह्मचारी के मन से मिथ्याभिमान और दिखावे का मैल छूट नहीं सकता। मिथ्याभिमान हिंसा का रूप है और दिखावा असत्य का रूप है। अहिंसा और सत्य आत्मा के अपने रूप है। अहिंसा और सत्य को त्यागना आत्महनन है, मृत्यु के मुख मे प्रवेश है। इस मृत्यु से बचने के लिये ब्रह्मचारी को सर्वदा मृत्यु का ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि किसी प्रकार से भी मिथ्याभिमान और

दिखावे का भाव तो उस के मन मे नहीं उठता। इन भावों पर विजय पाने के लिये ब्रह्मचारी का कर्तव्य है कि अपने आप को दरिद्र कंगाल सा करके बिना शर्म के भिक्षा मांगा करे। भिक्षा मांगने से मिथ्याभिमान और दिखावे का भाव जाता रहेगा और इस प्रकार वह मृत्यु पर अधिकार प्राप्त करेगा। आत्महनन से वह बचा रहेगा। दरिद्र होकर बिना शर्म के भिक्षा मांगना यह सचमुच मृत्यु के मुख मे प्रवेश करना है। ऐसे दरिद्र भिक्षुक को चारों तरफ से लोग कुछ का कुछ कहते हैं, परन्तु जो ब्रह्मचारी उनके किसी भी कथन की परवाह नहीं करता उसका आत्मा सचमुच बलवान हो जाता है और उसे कोई भी उसके उद्देश्य से डिगा नहीं सकता। भविष्य मे बड़े से बड़े सामाजिक कार्य करने के लिये उसका हौसला बढ़ जाता है। बिना हिचक के लगन (श्रद्धा) के साथ कार्य करते हुए यश और धन तो उसे अनायास प्राप्त हो ही सकते है। इस प्रकार अपने आत्मबल को बढ़ाने के लिये ब्रह्मचारी को अपने समय का चतुर्थ भाग मृत्यु सेवा में अर्थात् भिक्षावृत्ति मे बिताना चाहिये।

स्नातक होकर फिर भिक्षावृत्ति करना उचित नहीं है क्योंकि वह इस लायक हो जाता है कि उसकी भिक्षा छूट जावे। वह अपने बन्धुओं के आश्रय (Dependency = अशनाया) को और अपने कुटुम्बियों (Relatives = पितरों) के आश्रय को भी छोड़ देता है। लोकाहित के लिये जिस चीज की बहुत ही अधिक आवश्यकता समझे उसको मांग ले। यदि कहीं से उसे न मिले तो अपनी आचार्यपत्नी से ही मांग ले। अथवा अपनी

माता से मांग ले। इसी क्रम से सातवीं बार बिना भिक्षा लिये न लौटे। ऐसे ज्ञानी और ऐसे आचारशील ब्रह्मचारी को सब वेद (विज्ञान) आ जाते हैं। जैसे प्रदीप्त अग्नि चमकती है वैसे ही सब विद्याओं से युक्त वह ब्रह्मचारी स्नातक होकर चमकने लगता है जो उक्त प्रकार से ब्रह्मचर्य व्रत का पालन करता है।

अपने समय का चतुर्थ भाग आचार्य के काम काज करने में तथा उसके पास बैठने में बितावे, और शेष चतुर्थभाग अपने निज के काम काज करने में लगावे।

इस प्रकार सपत्नीक – आचार्य के अग्निहोत्र की अग्नि में ब्रह्मचारी को प्रतिदिन समिधाधान करना चाहिए। ऐसा करने से वह शुद्ध भावना से भावित हो जाता है। आत्माग्नि में श्रद्धा की समिधा के प्रतिदिन आधान से ज्ञानमय आत्मा की एक एक कला को खोलता जाता है। इस प्रकार प्रतिदिन के समिधाधान के द्वारा आवरणकारक वासनामूलक मृत्यु के कर्मबन्धन रूप पाश से मुक्त रहता है। इस प्रकार प्रतिदिन समिधाधान करने वाले ब्रह्मचारी पर मृत्यु अधिकार नहीं जमा सकती, मृत्यु उसकी आयु को कम नहीं कर सकती।

इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र कर्म में विवाहित अहिताग्नि गृहस्थी मनुष्य का ही अधिकार है। ब्रह्मचारी का कर्तव्य इतना ही है कि अपने व्रत को स्मरण करता हुआ आचार्य की अग्नि में प्रतिदिन प्रातः सायं अपनी श्रद्धा समिधा के रूप में काष्ठ समिधा का आधान कर दिया करे और प्रातः सायम् अग्निहोत्री गौ का उपस्थान कर लिया करे। अब आगे अग्निहोत्र का अधिकारी कौन है उसका सिद्धान्त बतलाया जायगा।

अग्निहोत्र का अधिकारी

अग्निहोत्र करने का उसी मनुष्य को अधिकार है जो 'सृष्टि द्वन्द्वमयी है' ऐसा समझ चुका हो। सृष्टि का अर्थ ही यह है कि जिसमें संसृष्टि हो, परस्पर मेल हो। परस्पर मेल साकांक्ष वस्तुओं का होता है, निराकांक्ष का नहीं। आकांक्षा के पूर्ण होने से तृप्ति होती है। तृप्ति जीवन है और अतृप्ति मृत्यु है। तृप्ति में पूर्णता—भरापन है और अतृप्ति में अपूर्णता खालीपन है। जब तक तृप्ति नहीं होती तब तक आकांक्षा बनी रहती है। आकांक्षा एक बल है जिसको दूसरे शब्दों में कामना वा अशनाया कहते हैं। यह बल आत्मा से उठता है। इस बल का उठना आत्मा की अतृप्ति का द्योतक है। इस बल में जितनी प्रबलता होती है उतना ही अधिक आत्मा की तृप्ति का मार्ग खुल जाता है। आत्मा की तृप्ति के मार्ग के खुल जाने के अनुसार बल की प्रबलता जाती आती है। उठता हुआ बल अनात्मा पर आक्रमण करता है। आत्मा और अनात्मा का सम्बन्ध उचित मात्रा में करा कर यह बल शान्त हो जाता है। कामना बल का इस प्रकार शान्त हो जाना ही आत्मा की तृप्ति है। आत्मा अनात्मा में परस्पर आकर्षक और आकृष्ट भाव उनके मिल जाने से सन्तुष्ट हो जाते हैं। इस सन्तुष्टि में संसृष्टि विद्यमान है। इस संसृष्टि से सृष्टि हो जाती है जो द्वन्द्वमयी है।

जिन द्वन्द्वों के मेल से सृष्टि होती है उनके अपने २ भाव परस्पर एक दूसरे में संक्रान्त हो जाते हैं अर्थात् परस्पर मिल जाते हैं। परस्पर संक्रान्त भावों के कारण,जो सृष्टि होती

है वह अपने घटकों से सर्वथा भिन्न होती है क्योंकि घटक (योजक) तत्व साकांक्ष है असन्तुष्ट हैं अतृप्त है अपूर्ण है, एक दूसरों को पाकर निराकांक्ष सन्तुष्ट तृप्त और पूर्ण होते हैं।

सृष्ट पदार्थों के घटकों में एक आकर्षक होता है और दूसरा आकृष्य होता है। आकर्षक प्रधान है मुख्य है (Positive है) और आकृष्य गौण है (Nagative है)। आकांक्षा, असन्तोष, अतृप्ति, अपूर्णता ये सब भाव खालीपन को सूचित करते है। खालीपन को भरने के लिये दूसरी ओर से बहाव होता है। जो पदार्थ बहता है और खालीपन को दूर करता है वह आकृष्ट हुआ कहा जाता है और जिसे भरता है वह आकर्षक कहा जाता है। जो पदार्थ स्थान नहीं घेरता है वह हमेशा खाली है और जो स्थान घेरता है वह हमेशा खाली स्थान चाहता है। आत्मा ऐसा ही पदार्थ है। वह स्थान नही घेरता—उसमें स्थाना-वरोधकता नहीं है। जो स्थान नही घेरता है वह कितना है यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। स्थानावरोधक न होने से जिस पदार्थ की इयत्ता व परिमाण निर्धारित नहीं हो सकता वह सर्वत्र, सतत प्रवाह रूप और अनन्त सत्तामात्र के सिवाय किस प्रकार निर्दिष्ट हो सकता है? आत्मा सर्वत्र है परन्तु स्थानावरोधक न होने से खाली है। खाली को भरने के लिये चारों ओर से अनात्मा आत्मा की ओर बह रहा है। आत्मा का खालीपन हलचल का, आकर्षण का, गति का कारण हो रहा है। खाली से चारों ओर बलों का उत्थान हो रहा है। इसी के कारण चारों ओर से आता हुआ अनात्मा आत्मा से प्रतितुलित हो २ कर परस्पर

संघात में आ आकर मूर्तिमान् हो रहा है। इस मूर्तिमयी सृष्टि में अनात्मा जिधर से बह कर मूर्तिमान् होता है उस तरफ रिक्तता हो जाने के कारण मूर्तिमान् पदार्थ से रिक्तता की ओर बहाव होने लगता है। इस प्रकार रिक्तता से पूर्णता और पूर्णता से रिक्तता का यह चक्र प्रतिक्षण इस सृष्टि में सर्वत्र सर्वभावों में विद्यमान है। यह सृष्टि चक्र है। सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि में यह चाक्रिक नियम विद्यमान होते हुए उसके एक २ अवयव में विद्यमान है। बीज से वृक्ष और वृक्ष से बीज में यही नियम है। समुद्र से बादल, बादल से वर्षा, वर्षा से नदी, नदी से समुद्र में यही नियम है। भोक्ता से भोग्य और भोग्य से भोक्ता में यही नियम है। संवत्सर चक्र, ऋतु चक्र, मास चक्र, अहोरात्र चक्र सब उसी चाक्रिक नियम के रूप हैं। रिक्तता पूर्णता के इस व्यापक चाक्रिक नियम को ही सब मनुष्यों से अनुभूत प्रत्यक्ष चन्द्रमा की कलाओं के क्रमशः वृद्धि और क्षय के चाक्रिक नियम को दर्शपूर्णमास के नाम से व्यवहार किया जाता है।

किसी भी कार्य के मुखिया, अगुआ वा अग्रणी को अग्नि कहते हैं। अग्नि अपने अनुयायी लोगों को अपने विचारों से भरता है और फिर किन्हीं विशेष २ कार्यों के करने के लिये उन्हें प्रेरित करता है। अनुयायी लोग कार्य करने के लिये उसकी प्रेरणा से उद्यत होते हैं। अनुयायी लोगों का अग्नि के सन्मुख आदिष्ट कार्य के लिये उद्यत होना ही उनका व्रत ग्रहण करना है। व्रत ग्रहण करके अनुयायी लोग कार्य में तत्पर होते हैं। व्रत ग्रहण करते समय अनुयायी लोग अग्नि से इतना अवश्य कहते हैं कि आप चूंकि व्रतपति हैं सबको भिन्न २ कार्मों में

लगाने वाले हैं अतः ऐसा व्रत धारण कराइये वा ऐसी ड्यूटी (काम) सुपुर्द कीजिए जिसे हम कर सकें और जिसके प्रति किया हुआ हमारा प्रयत्न सफल हो। बस ! अब हम अपने मनवचन कर्म को एक करके अर्थात् संगत होकर अनृत भाव से (निकम्मेपन से) सत्य भाव को (कार्यतत्परता को) प्राप्त होते हैं और आपकी कृपा से आपके दिये हुए कार्य को (व्रत को) अवश्य पूर्ण कर डालेंगे। इस प्रकार कार्य तत्पर होकर कार्य पूर्ण करके उन अनुयायी लोगों को व्रतपति अग्नि के पास जाकर कहना पड़ता है कि हे व्रतपते अग्ने ! आपने जो हमें काम सौंपा था वह हमने पूर्ण कर लिया उसको हम कर सके, उस कार्य के प्रति हमारा किया हुआ प्रयत्न सफल हुआ। इस प्रकार अग्नि का आदेश पूर्ण करके फिर अग्नि के पास पहुंचा देने से व्रत समाप्त हो जाता है। व्रत ग्रहण करके समाप्त कर देने के पश्चात् मनुष्य फिर वैसे नहीं बन जाते जैसे वे व्रत ग्रहण करने से पहिले अव्रती, अनृत रूप थे। इसलिये अग्नि के सन्मुख व्रत समाप्त करते हुए वे यह नहीं कहते कि अब हम सत्य से अनृत भाव को प्राप्त होते हैं, क्योंकि वे अपने मनों का झुकाव कर्तव्य परायणता की ओर हुआ २ अनुभव करते हैं इसलिये वे इतना ही कहते हैं कि अब हम जैसे हैं वैसे हैं। आदेश देना हुआ अग्नि आशावान वा साकांक्ष हो जाता है और व्रत पूर्ण होने पर वह पूर्ण आशा वाला वा निराकांक्ष हो जाता है। अग्नि का साकांक्ष अवस्था से निराकांक्ष हो जाना यह एक दर्श पूर्णमास चक्र है। यह चक्र सत्य का अवलम्बन करके अथवा मन वचन कर्म की एकता के साथ कार्य में तत्पर होकर पूर्ण होता है।

बिना सत्य का अवलम्ब लिये दर्शपूर्णमास चक्र पूर्ण नहीं होता। इसी प्रकार जो मनुष्य इस नियम का समझ चुका है कि सृष्टि चक्र सत्य के आश्रय अर्थात् मन, प्राण (कर्म) और वाक् (प्रकृति Nature) के परस्पर सामञ्जस्य से चल रहा है वह अग्निहोत्र का अधिकारी है।

अग्निहोत्र की प्रजनन रूपता

जो मनुष्य सृष्टि में उत्पत्ति के सिद्धांत का समझता है वह अग्निहोत्र की प्रजनन रूपता का अनुभव कर लेता है। हम देखते हैं कि स्थानावरोधक पार्थिव पदार्थों की गति पृथिवी की ओर है हम देखते हैं कि अग्नि की गति पृथिवी से विरुद्ध दिशा में है, अग्नि जलते हुए पदार्थ के अवयवों का पृथिवी से विरुद्ध दिशा में ले जाती है। पदार्थ में से अवयवों के निकल जाने से पदार्थ शिथिल और जीर्ण हो जाते हैं। लकड़ी के शहतीर सम्भाल कर रखे हुये कागज के बन्डल समय पाकर पड़े पड़े जीर्ण हो जाते हैं। इन पदार्थों के अवयव बाहिर निकल जाते हैं और ये जीर्ण हो जाते हैं अवयवों को बाहर निकाल देने वाली ताकत अग्नि है जो अवयवों को बाहर उठा ले जाती है और पदार्थों को शिथिल तथा जीर्ण कर डालती है। बाधा डालने वाले पदार्थों को अग्नि अपने बल के अनुसार बाहर फेंकता है। अग्नि का विरोधी यह पदार्थ सोम नाम से विख्यात है। सोम भी एक बल है जो अग्नि का विरोधी बल है। अग्नि प्रेरण शील है तो सोम संकोचधर्मा है। दोनों बलों के परस्पर संघात से स्वरूप निष्पत्ति हो जाती है, मूर्ति उत्पन्न हो जाती

है। यदि अग्नि के साथ मिलकर स्वरूप निष्पत्ति करता हुआ सोम पदार्थ अपने मूल को भूमि में जमा दे तो भूमि प्रसून होते हुये अग्नि के द्वारा सोम के प्रसार से ओषधि, वृक्ष, वनस्पति आदि का रूप बनने लगता है। यदि सोम अग्नि के साथ मिल कर उच्छिन्न मूल रहे और अग्नि को बढ़ कर ले साथ ही उस अग्नि प्राण के संचार के लिए वह अग्नि द्वारा ही उपयुक्त स्वरूप बन जाता तो ऐसे स्वरूप निष्पन्न हो जाते हैं जिन्हें हम जीव वा प्राणी कहते हैं। इन स्वरूपों में वह अग्नि अपनी परिस्थिति के अनुसार जिस जिस दिशा विशेष से बाह्य प्रभावों से प्रभावित होता है उस उस दिशा विशेष में उस २ प्रभाव को ग्रहण करते हुए इन स्वरूपों में जो विशेष रचना उत्पन्न हो जाती है उनका इन्द्रिय कहते है। सब प्रकार की विविध शक्तियां जो अग्नि का ही विशेष २ रूप हैं अग्नि को अपना अग्रणी, मुखिया कायम करके अर्थात् अग्नि का अवलम्ब लेकर इन स्वरूपों में प्रकट हो जाती हैं। जीवित प्राणियों के शरीर ऐसे ही स्वरूप हैं। शरीर में विद्यमान मुख्य प्राण जिसका नाम अग्नि है अन्नाद कहलाता है। वह अन्न को खाता है। भोग्य पदार्थ का नाम अन्न है और अग्नि भोक्ता है। अग्नि अपनी विविध शक्तियों अर्थात् देवताओं के द्वारा विविध भोग्य पदार्थों का ग्रहण करती हुई अपने आपको तृप्त किया करती है। अपनी आकांक्षा को पूर्ण करके अपने आपको निराकाङ्क्ष किया करती है। मुख्य प्राण रूप अग्नि से उठते हुए कामना बल इन्द्रियों के रास्ते से प्राप्त हुए २ भोग्य पदार्थों के द्वारा शान्त व तृप्त होते रहते हैं। शरीर में विद्यमान मुख्य प्राण रूप अग्नि जिससे विविध बलों का उत्थान इन्द्रियों

द्वारा प्रकट होता रहता है उसी को आत्मा कहते हैं। सर्व बलों के उत्थान के केन्द्र विश्वात्मा से सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि का निर्माण होता है अतएव विश्वात्मा समष्टि आत्मा है। विविध बलों के उत्थान का केन्द्र देह में विद्यमान मुख्य प्राण रूप अग्नि जिसे देह का निर्माण होता है वह वैश्वानर अग्नि व्यष्टि आत्मा है। बलों के उत्थान के केन्द्र आत्मा को ही प्रजापति कहते है क्योंकि वह विविध बलो के रूपों में अपने आप ही प्रजायें उत्पन्न किया करता है। विश्वात्मा महान् प्रजापति है। व्यष्टि आत्मा अणु प्रजापति है। अणु प्रजापति एक २ कोष्ठ मे व्यष्टि रूप में विद्यमान है इसलिए वह अणु प्रजापति है। यह प्रजापति ही इन्द्र है जो अपनी विविध मायाओं, शक्तियों वा बलों के द्वारा बहुरूप को धारण किया करता है।

इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरूरूप ईयते

अग्नि वा इन्द्र से बलों का प्रसार हो रहा है। बलों के प्रसार से ही तो इनकी सत्ता प्रकट होती है। प्रसृत बल इन के सत्य भाव को प्रकट करते है प्रसृत बल इनकी ज्योति है। यह ज्योति ही इनकी प्रजा है, इनका रेतः है। प्रजापति रूप अग्नि से ज्योतिः रूप प्रजा प्रकट होती रहती है। प्रजापति से ज्योतिः रूप मे प्रजा का प्रसार वस्तुतः प्रजापति के रेतः का प्रसार है। यह रेतः अपने विविध भोग्य पदार्थों में से मनः संकल्प के द्वारा प्राण व्यापार से जिस २ में आहित होता है वह २ भोग्य पदार्थ भी पृथक् प्रजापति बन जाता है। इसलिए अग्नि का ज्योतिः रेतः है और वह रेतः ज्योतिः अग्नि है।

अग्निः ज्योतिः ज्योतिरग्निः।

अग्नि से गो (किरण) निकलती है। उस गो म अग्नि रेतः रूप मे विद्यमान है। जिस भोग्य पदार्थ मे ये किरण प्रविष्ट होती है उसमे अग्नि का रेत. आहित होता है। रेत. रूप मे अग्नि ही आहित होती है। इस आधान से वह पदार्थ भी अग्नि से गृहीत हो जाता है। अग्नि गृहीत पदार्थ मे विद्यमान अग्नि अपने पितृ रूप अग्नि से उत्पन्न होने के कारण पुत्र होते हुए भी अग्नि होने से पितृ रूप ही है। इस प्रकार प्रसिद्ध है कि पिता से पिता ही है।

पुत्रः सन् पिता भवति। स पितुः पिताऽसत्।

इस प्रकार अग्नि का पूर्वरूप और उत्तर रूप अग्नि है और मध्य रूप जो ज्योतिः है वह रेतः है। मध्य रूप अग्नि प्रसूत रूप है। रेतः उभयत: अग्नि से परिगृहीत है। यह ऐसा ही है जैसे गर्भाधान मे स्त्री के गर्भाशय मे सिञ्चन किये हुए रेत अर्थात् वीर्य का शुक्रकीट स्त्री के अग्निमय रजः मे विद्यमान स्त्री बीज के अन्दर प्रविष्ट होकर उभयतः अग्नि से परिगृहीत होता है। जैसे गर्भाधान मे रेतः अग्नि से उभयत परिगृहीत होता है इसी प्रकार प्रकृत मे रेतः अग्नि के द्वारा उभयतः परिगृहीत होने से उसी की समानरूपता को सूचित करता है अग्नि मे रेतः का हवन होने से दोनो का रूप अग्निहोत्र है। इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र की प्रजनन रूपता स्पष्ट है। इसी प्रजनन रूपता को सूचित करने के लिए 'अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः' मन्त्र मे रेतः रूप ज्योतिः को अग्नि से उभयतः परिगृहीत करके

दिखलाया है। सूर्य भी अग्नि है। 'सूर्यो अग्निहोत्रम्' कह कर सूर्य को अग्निहोत्र भी कहा है। सूर्य के सम्बन्ध में 'अग्निर्ज्योति-र्ज्योतिरग्निः' न कह कर 'सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः' कहा है। इस प्रकार यहां भी प्रजनन रूपता ही प्रकट की है।

किन्तु इसके पश्चात् सूर्य के सम्बन्ध में तो 'ज्योतिः सूर्यः सूर्योज्योतिः' कहते हैं और अग्नि के सम्बन्ध में 'अग्निर्ज्योति-र्ज्योतिरग्निः' ही कहते हैं, 'ज्योतिरग्निरग्निर्ज्योतिः' नहीं कहते। ज्योतिः को सूर्य के तो बहिर्धा रक्खा है किन्तु अग्नि के बहिर्धा नहीं रक्खा, अग्नि के अन्तर्धा ही रहने दिया है। ज्योतिः रेतः है ..... है। ज्योतिः का बहिर्धा रखना प्रजा के उत्पन्न होने (birtn = जन्म) को सूचित करता है, और अन्तर्धा रखना गर्भावस्था को सूचित करता है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि सूर्योदय के समान पुत्र का जन्म दिन में होना श्रेष्ठ है, और ज्योतिगर्भित अग्नि के समान गर्भाधान करना रात्रि के समय श्रेष्ठ है। दिन के समय गर्भाधान करने से गर्भाधानकर्ता चमक-रहित अज्योतिष्क अग्नि के समान हो जाता है ऐसी सूचना है। रात्रि के समय गर्भाधान करने से गर्भाधानकर्ता अन्तर्निहित ज्योतिष्मान् अग्नि के समान सतेजस्क ही रहता है, वैसा क्षीण नहीं होता जैसा दिन में गर्भाधान करने से होता है। सूर्य के अस्त होने पर ज्योति रूप इन्द्र अग्नि में निहित हो जाने से अग्नि चमकने लगती है, वह इन्द्र अग्नि को चमक दे देता है। सूर्योदय के पश्चात् ज्योतिः-इन्द्र सूर्य की किरणों में खिंच जाने से दिन में अग्नि अपनी चमक खो बैठता है। ज्योतिः-इन्द्र को रात्रि के समय अग्नि में प्रविष्ट होने से अग्नि में इन्द्र का गर्भरूप

से प्रतिष्ठित होना है और दिन के समय अग्नि में से ज्योतिः-इन्द्र के बाहिर हो जाने से इन्द्र का प्रसव है। इस प्रकार इस कुदरत में रात्रि में गर्भाधान किया और दिन में प्रसव किया होती रहती है। सायं प्रातः अग्निहोत्र कर्म करते हुए मनुष्य ने अग्निहोत्र के प्रजनन रूपता के भाव को ग्रहण करना होता है और गर्भाधान तथा प्रसव के वैज्ञानिक भाव से भावित होकर अपने आपको सुरक्षित रखना होता है। मनुष्यों को चाहिए कि सायं प्रातः अग्निहोत्र कर्म करते हुए इन भावनाओं से भावित हुआ करे और पवित्र वातावरण उत्पन्न करके अपनी तथा समाज की रक्षा में उद्यत रहें।

इसके अतिरिक्त अग्निहोत्र को प्रजनन रूपता अन्य प्रकार से इस प्रकार समझनी चाहिए। अग्निहोत्र में मुख्य तो एक ही आहुति है। मुख्य आहुति अग्निहोत्र की देवता है—असली चीज है। इसी को लक्ष्य करके दी गई आहुति अग्निहोत्र कर्म पूरा कर डालती है। यह पूर्वाहुति है—असली आहुति है। परन्तु चूंकि अग्निहोत्र का स्वरूप प्रजनन है और प्रजनन दो के बिना नहीं होता। अतः पूर्वाहुति के पश्चात् द्वितीयाहुति की भी आवश्यकता रहती है। यह द्वितीयाहुति कर्म के स्वरूप को पूरा करने वाली होती है अथवा इष्ट (कर्म) को बिलकुल पूरा कर डालने वाली होती है, इसलिये इसका नाम स्विष्टकृत् आहुति है। चूंकि यह आहुति सहायक रूप से है कर्म की प्रजननरूपता को स्पष्ट करने के लिये है अतः पूर्वाभिमुख बैठा हुआ कार्यकर्ता वामहस्त की तरफ उत्तरार्ध में डालता है। स्विष्टकृत् का

यही तरीका है । इससे अग्निहोत्र की प्रजननरूपता स्पष्ट हो जाती है ।

इन आहुतियों को अन्य अनेक द्वन्द्वों के रूप में भी समझा जा सकता है । एक आहुति भूत को बतलाती है तो दूसरी भविष्यत् को, एक पैदा हुए (जात) का तो दूसरी पैदा होने वाले (जानिष्यमाण) को, एक आये हुए (आगत) को तो दूसरी आने वाले (आशा) को, एक आज (अद्य) को तो दूसरा कल (श्व) को इस प्रकार ये आहुतियां मिलकर द्वन्द्व का ही सूचित करती हैं । द्वन्द्व मिथुन को अर्थात् प्रजनन को कहते है । अतः आहुति द्वय से सम्पन्न होने वाले अग्निहोत्र का स्वरूप प्रजनन है इसमें कुछ भी सन्देह नहीं रहता । इन द्वन्द्वों में से एक आत्मा है तो दूसरी प्रजा है । आत्मा और प्रजा का मिलकर पूरा द्वन्द्व है, पूरा जोड़ा है । आत्मा निश्चित भाव का प्रकट करता है और प्रजा अनिश्चित भाव को । जो हो चुका है अर्थात् भूत है वह तो निश्चित है अतः आत्मा है और जो होने वाला है अर्थात् भविष्यत् है वह अनिश्चित है अतः प्रजा रूप है क्योंकि आगे होने वाली प्रजा अविद्यमान होने से अनिश्चित है । इसी प्रकार जो पैदा हुआ २ है वह तो निश्चित है, सामने है अतः आत्मा है और जो अभी नहीं पैदा हुआ, आगे पैदा होगा वह केवल आशा में है, अविद्यमान होने से अनिश्चित है, अतः प्रजा रूप है क्योंकि आगे होने वाली प्रजा तो आशा में ही है, है तो है ही नहीं । इसी प्रकार जो आया हुआ है वह तो सामने है, निश्चित है अतः आत्मा है और जो आगे आयेगा वह तो आशा में है अतः प्रजा रूप है क्योंकि जो आगे आयेगा वह

अभी तो है ही नहीं, आगे आयेगा, प्रजा भी अभी नहीं है आगे होगी, केवल आशा में है अतः आशा में विद्यमान जो भाव है वह प्रजा रूप है। इसी प्रकार जिसे हम आज कहते हैं वह तो निश्चित है, हमारे सामने है अतः आत्मा के सदृश है और जिसे हम कल कहते हैं वह तो उपस्थित नहीं है अतः ऐसा है जैसे आगे होने वाली अनुपस्थित प्रजा इसलिये कल प्रजा रूप है। इस कारण पहिली जो आहुति दी जाती है उसमें तो आत्मा की पुकार है वह तो अपने को लक्ष्य करके दी जाती है और मन्त्र का उच्चारण करके दी जाती है, क्योंकि स्वयं आहुति देने वाला मनुष्य तो अपने आप में निश्चित है, प्रत्यक्ष है, स्पष्ट है और उच्चारित मन्त्रमयी वाक् भी स्पष्ट है अतः अपने को निर्देश करके दी गई पहिली आहुति मन्त्र बोलकर दी जाती है। परन्तु जो बाद का उत्तरा आहुति दी जाती है वह द्वन्द्व भाव पूरा करने की दृष्टि से प्रजा को लेकर दी जाती है, प्रजा चूंकि प्रत्यक्ष नहीं है, अस्पष्ट है, चुप के सदृश है अतः दूसरी आहुति बिना मन्त्र बोले ही दी जाती है। इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र की आहुतियों में द्वन्द्व भाव, मिथुन भाव स्पष्ट प्रकट होने से अग्निहोत्र की प्रजनन रूपता निर्विवाद है।

अग्निहोत्र का काल

'अग्निर्ज्योतिः' और 'सूर्यो ज्योतिः' मन्त्र ही बतला रहे हैं कि अग्नि ज्योति और सूर्य ज्योति को लक्ष्य करके अग्नि होत्र की आहुतियां दी जाती हैं। जब सूर्य अस्त हो जाता है तब अग्नि ज्योति होती है और जब सूर्य उदय होता है तब

सूर्य ज्योति होती है। सूर्यास्त पर अग्नि को लक्ष्य करके और सूर्योदय पर सूर्य को लक्ष्य करके आहुति देना सत्यता पूर्वक कर्म करना है। सत्यता के साथ कर्म करने से कम देवों को प्राप्त होता है अर्थात अपने यथेष्ट फल को देने में समर्थ होता है। असत्यता के साथ जो कम किया जाय वह निष्फल होता है। इसलिए सायंकाल अग्निहोत्र की आहुति सूर्यास्त होने के पश्चात् देवे और प्रातः काल अग्निहोत्र की आहुति सूर्योदय के पश्चात् देवे।

मब से पहले अग्निहोत्र के प्रारम्भ काल के विषय में प्रश्न उठ सकता है कि जो मनुष्य अपने जीवन मे पहले पहल अग्निहोत्र आरम्भ करे वह पहिला अग्निहोत्र सायंकाल करे वा प्रातः काल करे? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर समझ लेना बहुत ही आसान है। जिस मनुष्य ने अग्निहोत्र की प्रजननरूपता को समझ लिया है और जिसने अग्निहोत्र के मन्त्रों के गर्भाधान और प्रसव रूप का ज्ञान लिया है वह स्पष्ट कह सकता है कि पहिला अग्निहोत्र सायंकाल होना चाहिये और दूसरा प्रातःकाल। कारण यह है कि 'अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा' इस मन्त्र में ज्योतिः गर्भित अग्नि का निर्देश है। ज्योतिः रेतः है। अग्नि (गर्भाशय) से घिरा हुआ रेतः (वीर्य) रहे तो वह गर्भाधान का स्वरूप हो जाता है। सायं काल 'अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा' इसी प्रकार मन्त्र बोला जाता है अतः सायंकाल का मन्त्र गर्भाधान को सूचित करता है। प्रातःकाल 'सूर्योज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहा' मन्त्र से गर्भित अग्नि का स्वरूप निर्देश करके 'ज्योतिः सूर्यः सूर्यो ज्योतिः स्वाहा' मन्त्र बोला जाता है। इस

मन्त्र मे ज्योति (रेत) का सूर्य बाहर रखकर स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि यह वह अवस्था है जो प्रसव की होती है। मिश्रन किया हुआ रेत (वीर्य) पक कर, बच्चा बनकर प्रसव काल मे गर्भाशय के बाहर आता है। इसलिए 'ज्योति सूर्य सूर्यो ज्योति स्वाहा' मन्त्र के स्वरूप से प्रात काल प्रसव काल है। गर्भाधान और प्रसव कर्मों मे प्रथम कर्म गर्भाधान होता है और उत्तर कर्म प्रसव होता है। इसलिए प्रथम कर्म सायकाल का कर्म है और उत्तर कर्म प्रात काल का। अत मनुष्य ने अपने जीवन म अग्निहोत्र का प्रथम ही आरम्भ करना हो तो साय काल से करे प्रात काल से नहीं।

अग्न्याधान काल

अब तक इतना तो मालूम हुआ कि अग्निहोत्र आरम्भ करना हो तो पहला अग्निहोत्र सायकाल करे। परन्तु अग्निहोत्र बिना अग्नि के नहीं होता। अग्नि का आधान करने के पश्चात् आहित अग्नि म अग्निहोत्र किया जाता है। एक बार अग्नि का आधान कर लिया जाता है और प्रति दिन उस आहित अग्नि मे अग्निहोत्र किया जाता है। प्रति दिन अग्न्याधान करना तो ऐसा है जैसा प्रति दिन नई २ स्त्री को पत्नी बना २ कर घर मे रखना। किसी स्त्री को पत्नी करके घर मे रखना ऐसा है जैसा घर मे आग को प्रज्वलित करके रखना। स्त्री वज्र (तलवार) के समान है। यदि तलवार को म्यान में सुरक्षित रखने के समान स्त्री का भी सुरक्षित रूप से उचित कर्तव्य और अधिकारो के साथ घर मे रक्खा जाय तो वह समय पर अपनी रक्षा का साधन

होती है अपना सहारा होती है, परन्तु यदि उसे असुरक्षित रक्खा जाय तो वह रखने वाले का ही घातक हो जाती है। इसी प्रकार घर में अग्नि को प्रज्वलित करके आधान करना बड़ी जिम्मेवारी का काम है। असुरक्षित रूप से अग्नि रहेगी तो वह घर भर को फूंक डालेगी। सुरक्षित अग्नि में प्रति दिन अग्निहोत्र करता हुआ गृहपति व्रतपति अग्नि से व्रत ग्रहण किया करता है, कुसमय में अपने वीर्य को बाहर फेंकने से बचाता हुआ अपनी रक्षा में उद्यत रहता है। अपनी सुरक्षा के साधन अग्नि को प्रति दिन शान्त कर डालना (बुझा देना, मार डालना) उसकी अत्यन्त अपेक्षा है। इसलिए बड़े पवित्र भाव से एक खास नियत समय पर अग्न्याधान घर में कर लेना होना है, और प्रति दिन उस अग्नि में अग्निहोत्र करना होता है।

जिस अग्नि के चारों ओर परिक्रमा करके स्त्री पुरुष परस्पर गार्हस्थ्य धर्म को ग्रहण करने की प्रतिज्ञा करते हैं, पति अपनी पत्नी को घर में लाते हुए, उस वैवाहिक अग्नि को साथ लावे। अपने घर में उस अग्नि की स्थापना करे। यदि प्रमाद से अग्नि बुझ जावे तो अरणि मन्थन करके अथवा अपने पुरोहित के घर से अग्नि लाकर स्थापन करे। इस प्रकार जिसने अग्नि स्थापन की हुई है वह मनुष्य आहिताग्नि कहलाता है। आहिताग्नि मनुष्य प्रतिदिन साय प्रातः उस अग्नि में से आधान मन्त्र (ओं भूर्भुवः स्वर्द्यौरिव भूम्ना पृथिवी वरिम्णा तस्यास्ते पृथिवी देवयजनि पृष्ठेऽग्निमन्नादमन्नाद्यायादधे) द्वारा उचित स्थान पर अग्नि को रखता है, समिन्धन मन्त्रों के द्वारा उसका समिन्धन करता है; फिर उसकी रक्षा करता है, फिर सृष्ट्युत्पत्ति

के प्रधान देवताओं के लिये हवि देता है, फिर अग्निहोत्र के मुख्य मन्त्रों से अग्निहोत्र का स्वरूप निरूपण करता है, फिर सम्पूर्ण त्रिलोकी के स्वरूप का ध्यान करता है और पूर्णाहुति करके अग्निहोत्र समाप्त करता है।

मनुष्य आहिताग्नि होने के लिये किस समय अग्न्याधान करे इसके लिये विभिन्न मत हैं। मतों का वर्णन भिन्न २ नक्षत्रों का नाम लेकर किया गया है। पृथ्वी की परिक्रमा करता हुआ चन्द्रमा जिस २ नक्षत्र के सामने आता है उस दिन वही नक्षत्र कहलाता है। अग्न्याधान के लिये भिन्न २ नक्षत्र भिन्न २ दृष्टि से चुने गये हैं।

कृत्तिका नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करे। क्योंकि नक्षत्र प्रायः अनेक तारों के समूह हैं। किसी नक्षत्र में एक तारा, किसी में दो, किसी में तीन और किसी में चार। परन्तु कृत्तिका नक्षत्र में सब से अधिक तारे हैं। कृत्तिका नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करने से बहुत्व के साथ सम्बन्ध हो जाता है। इसलिये कृत्तिका में अग्न्याधान करे। एक बात और भी है। कृत्तिका अग्नि नक्षत्र है। अग्नि का अग्नि नक्षत्र के साथ सम्बन्ध रहने में अनुकूलता है। इसलिये भी कृत्तिका में अग्न्याधान करे।

यदि कोई ऐसा कहे कि अग्न्याधान का सम्बन्ध मिथुन कर्म में है, जिस नक्षत्र में मिथुन भाव हो उसमें अग्न्याधान करना चाहिए, चूंकि कभी कृत्तिका नक्षत्र सप्तर्षियों के साथ रहते थे परन्तु अब उन्होंने सप्तर्षियों का साथ छोड़ दिया है। अतः ऐसे नक्षत्रों में अग्न्याधान करना जिनमें मिथुन भाव छूट चुका है स्वयं भी मिथुन भाव से वञ्चित रहकर अभागा

बनना है। अतः कृत्तिका मे अग्न्याधान करना उचित नहीं है। परन्तु यदि कुछ गहराई के साथ विचार करें तो स्पष्ट पता लगता है कि कृत्तिका में मिथुन भाव बना ही रहता है। कारण यह है कि कृत्तिका का अग्नि तारा के साथ मिथुन भाव नहीं छूटता। इसलिये बेशक कृत्तिका मे अग्न्याधान किया जा सकता है, कोई हर्ज नहीं है।

२. कोई कहते है रोहिणी नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान करे। प्रजापति (Landlord जमीनदार, किसान, राजा) ने प्रजा की इच्छा से रोहिणी नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान किया था (बीज वपन किया था)। प्रजाओं को पैदा कर लिया। जितनी प्रजायें उत्पन्न हुईं उनकी शकलें भिन्न २ न थीं वे सब एक ही शकल की थीं, जैसी रोहिणी के तारे एक शकल के है अर्थात् उनकी चमक व रूप में फरक नहीं है। जो विद्वान् मनुष्य रोहिणी के इस रोहिणीपन को अच्छी तरह समझता है उनकी सन्तान और पशु बहुत होते हैं। पशु भी अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान=बीज वपन) रोहिणी में ही करते थे कि जिससे वे मनुष्यों के पास रहते हुये खूब बढ़े। सचमुच वे मनुष्यों के पास इस प्रकार मनुष्यों के सहारे पशु खूब बढ़ें और पशुओं के सहारे मनुष्य खूब बढ़ें। अतः प्रजा और पशुओं की वृद्धि की इच्छा हो तो रोहिणी मे अग्न्याधान करे।

३. कोई कहते है मृगशीर्ष नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करे। आकाश मे जिसे मृगशिरा नक्षत्र कहते हैं वह प्रजापति नक्षत्र कहलाता है। इसी के पास दाहिनी ओर एक लाल वर्ण का तारा

है जिसे प्रजापति का शिर कहते हैं। लुब्धक तारे ने प्रजापति को बाण मार कर उसका शिर काट कर अलग डाल दिया है। यह वर्णन तारों का आलंकारिक है। उनका परस्पर सम्बन्ध बतलाकर केवल उनकी स्थिति याद कराने के लिए है। शरीर में शिर शरीर की श्री है। चार प्राण धड़ के दो बाहुओं के और एक पुच्छ का इस प्रकार सातों प्राण मिलकर शिर के अकेले प्राण को बना रहे हैं। इस प्रकार शिर का प्राण सात प्राणों से मिलकर बना है।

सप्त प्राणमयः शीर्षण्यः प्राणः।

सातों प्राणों का सार भाग लेकर शिर का प्राण बना होने से शिर सारे शरीर की श्री है। इस कारण शरीर के दो भागों में एक भाग शिर है और दूसरा भाग धड़ है। धड़ पर उसकी श्री के समान शिर लगा हुआ है। इसी कारण जो श्रेष्ठ भाग होता है उसे दूसरे हिस्से का शिर कहते हैं। इस कारण जो मनुष्य संसार में श्री को प्राप्त करना चाहता है उसे चाहिये कि प्रजापति के शिर को बतलाने वाला जो तारा है उस तारे में अर्थात् मृगशीर्ष नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करे। इस से उसकी जो सन्तान होगी संसार में उसकी कीर्ति के द्वारा वह मनुष्य भी संसार मे कीर्तिमान हो जावेगा।

कोई शङ्का करते हैं कि मृगशीर्ष प्रजापति का शरीर है जो कि बाण के लगने से मुर्दा, निर्वीर्य हो गया है यज्ञ का साधन नहीं रहा। इस कारण मृगशीर्ष में आधान न करे।

दूसरे इसका समाधान कहते हैं कि प्रजापति का कोई घर नहीं है कोई शरीर नही है इसलिये अयज्ञिय कहना ही गलत है। इस कारण प्रजापति नाम के नक्षत्र में अर्थात् मृगशीर्ष में बेशक आधान करे इसमें कोई दोष नहीं। प्रजापति नक्षत्र तो उस काल का सूचक है जिस काल में उसके सामने चन्द्रमा आता है। प्रजापति प्रजा का पति होने से सब देवों (शक्तियों) में श्रेष्ठ है—सब देवों की श्री है। चूंकि उस नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करने से उत्पन्न सन्तान के द्वारा श्री की प्राप्ति होती है इसलिए उस नक्षत्र का नाम प्रजापति रख छोड़ा है। इस दृष्टि को रखकर जो मनुष्य प्रजापति के समान श्रीमान् अथवा श्रेष्ठ होना चाहता है उसे मृगशीर्ष में अग्न्याधान निःसंकोच करना चाहिये।

४. पुनराधान करना हो तो पुनर्वसु नक्षत्र में आधान करे। गर्भस्थिति यदि ठीक नहीं और पुनराधान करने की आवश्यकता हो तो पुनर्वसु में करना उचित है क्योंकि पुनर्वसु का नाम ही इसलिए है कि जिसमें पुनःवसु अर्थात् निवास, स्थिति प्राप्त हो जावे।

५. कोई कहते हैं फल्गुनी नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करना उचित है। फल्गुनी का दूसरा नाम अर्जुनी है। अर्जुनी गुह्य नाम है। फल की दृष्टि से फल्गुनी नक्षत्र को इन्द्र नक्षत्र भी कह देते हैं। जो मनुष्य चाहता हो उसका सन्तान में अर्जन करने की अर्थात् कमाने की सामर्थ्य खूब हो और इससे वह सम्पत्ति का अर्जन करते २ परम ऐश्वर्यशाली इन्द्र बन जावे उसको चाहिए कि फल्गुनी नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करे। इसके

अतिरिक्त एक और भी बात है कि यज्ञ का देवता इन्द्र है। इन्द्र होने को लक्ष्य करके यज्ञ किये जाते हैं। यज्ञ करने वाला यजमान भी इन्द्र है। कोई साधारण छोटा मोटा आदमी यज्ञ नहीं कर सकता, उसके पास कुछ द्रव्य सम्पत्ति होनी चाहिए जिसका आश्रय लेकर वह यज्ञ कर सके अर्थात् यज्ञ करने वाले यजमान में इन्द्रपन होना चाहिए तभी वह यज्ञ कर सकता है यज्ञ करने का अधिकारी है। इसलिये यजमान इन्द्र नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करे इससे अच्छा अग्न्याधान का अवसर दूसरा कौन सा हो सकता है? ऐसा करने से अग्न्याधान कर्म इन्द्र वाला हो जाता है। अतः फल्गुनी नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान करे।

पूर्वा फल्गुनी मे अग्न्याधान करने से सन्तान (सद्यः फलवान) उन्नतिशील होती है, और उत्तरा फल्गुनी मे अग्न्याधान करने से इसका आगे २ आने वाला कल हमेशा श्रेय को दिखाने वाला होता है।

६. कोई कहते हैं हस्त नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करे। जो चाहता हो अपने को (अपनी सन्तान को) कुछ न कुछ दिया ही जाता रहे अर्थात् कुछ न कुछ मिलता हो रहे वह हस्त नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान करे। हस्त नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान का हस्त (हाथ) से कैसा अच्छा सम्बन्ध हो जाता है। जो कुछ हाथ से सन्मुख होकर दिया जाता है वह दिया ही जाता है। इसलिये यदि इच्छा हो कि कुछ न कुछ मिलता ही रहे तो हस्त नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान करे।

७. कोई कहते हैं कि चित्रा नक्षत्र मे अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करे। चित्रा मे अग्न्याधान करने का यह असर होता है कि जो सन्तान होती है वह अपने शत्रुओं के पराजय करने में अवश्य सफल होती है। यदि वे चाहे कि उनकी सन्तानें शत्रुओं को परास्त करने वाली बने तो क्षत्रियों के लिये चित्रा में अग्न्याधान करना अधिक लाभप्रद है। इस विषय में एक प्राचीन दृष्टांत है—गुरुवर ब्रह्मा प्रजापति के शिष्यरूप से दो प्रकार के सन्तान थे एक देव और दूसरे असुर। शारीरिक और सामूहिक बल में असुर देवों से अधिक थे। देव अपने बुद्धि के बल (चातुर्य,) में असुरों से अधिक थे। ये दोनों आपस में लड़ते झगड़ते रहते थे। दोनों ने सोचा कि स्वर्ग को प्राप्त करें, अर्थात् अपने आपको शस्त्र अस्त्र सेना आदि के बलों से इस प्रकार सुसज्जित करें कि किसी को मुकाबला करने की हिम्मत ही न हो और इस प्रकार शान्ति बनी रहे और लड़ाई झगड़े का अन्त हो जाय। असुरों ने रोहिणी (सीढ़ी) के रूप में अग्नि का चयन किया कि इससे हम स्वर्गलोक पर चढ़ जावेंगे अर्थात् हमें कोई जीतने वाला न रहेगा, हम अजेय हो जावेंगे तो युद्ध ही मिट जावेगा और शान्ति हो जावेगी। असुरों ने सैनिकों (अग्नि) की भरती (चयन) शुरू कर दिया और अग्नि वर्षा करने वाले अस्त्रों से उन्हें सुसज्जित करके ऐसी व्यूह रचना की कि जिस व्यूह में सेना आगे २ बढ़ती ही चली जावे (रोहण ही रोहण करती जावे) किसी प्रकार से भी शत्रु उसे पीछे न हटा सके। यह सब कार्रवाई इन्द्र को पता चली, इन्द्र समझ गया—यदि इस

प्रकार ये तैयारी कर लेंगे तो अवश्य हमें मार डालेंगे। इसलिये इन्द्र ने ब्राह्मण का वेश भरा। अपने आपको ब्राह्मण कहता हुआ वहां पहुंचा। उसने उस रचना का काम अपने हाथ में ले लिया। स्वय रचना करते हुए उसने उस रचना के मुख्य भाग को बिगाड़ डाला। मुख्य स्थान के आदमियों को फोड़ कर अपनी तरफ मिला लिया। इस थोड़े से प्रयत्न से ही असुरों का अग्नि (सेना निर्माण, व्यूह निर्माण) असंचित ही रह गया। इसके बाद उसने सोचा कि इस रचना में जो मेरा स्थान रखने वाला भाग है उसको भी मैं अपना कर लूं। उसके पास जाकर उसको भी उसने अपने कब्जे में कर लिया। उसके बिगड़ जाने पर सारी की सारी सेना (अग्नि) बिलकुल ढीली पड़ गई। सेना (अग्नि) के ढीले पड़ जाने पर असुरों के हौसले टूट गये। इन्द्र ने उन्हीं लोगों को तैयार करके असुरों की गर्दनें काट डालीं। देव इकट्ठे होकर कहने लगे कि हमें बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि हमने इतने शत्रु कैसे मार डाले। इससे पता लगता है कि चित्रा नक्षत्र का बड़ा महत्व है। मनुष्य को पता नहीं लगता कि कैसे होता है, वह अपने शत्रुओं को और द्वेषियों को मारता चला जाता है। सचमुच जो क्षत्रिय विद्वान् चित्रा में अग्न्याधान करता है उसकी सन्तान शत्रुओं को बस मार ही डालती है और उसकी विजय ही विजय होती है।

८. अन्त में सिद्धान्त यह है कि जिन को नक्षत्र कहते हैं पहिले वे भिन्न २ प्रकार के सामर्थ्यों के पुञ्ज (क्षत्र) थे जैसे यह सूर्य है। परन्तु इस सूर्य ने उदय होते ही उनके क्षत्र को

(वीर्य वा सामर्थ्य को) हरण कर लिया । इनके क्षत्र का आदान कर लेने से ही इनका नाम आदित्य पड़ गया है । विद्वान् लोग बतलाते हैं कि पहिले जो वे क्षत्र थे अब वे क्षत्र नहीं रहे किन्तु नक्षत्र बन गये । इस कारण चूंकि सब नक्षत्रों का सामर्थ्य अकेले इस सूर्य में है अतः सूर्य नक्षत्र में ही अग्न्याधान करे। चूंकि सूर्य नक्षत्र पूर्ण है सब सामर्थ्य वाला है अतः यदि किसी को नक्षत्र विशेष में ही अग्न्याधान करना हो तो उस नक्षत्र पर जब सूर्य आ जावे तब उस नक्षत्र में अग्न्याधान करे।

अग्न्याधान का ऋतु से सम्बन्ध

एक संवत्सर के दो हिस्से हैं। जैसे एक मास के वा एक दिन के दो हिस्से होते हैं वैसे ही संवत्सर के दो हिस्से होते हैं। मास के दो हिस्सों में से एक में चन्द्रमा का प्रकाश उसकी एक एक कला की वृद्धि के अनुसार पृथ्वी पर बढ़ता जाता है। और दूसरे हिस्से में चन्द्रमा की एक-एक कला के क्षय के अनुसार उसका प्रकाश पृथ्वी पर कम होता जाता है। अहोरात्र में सूर्य के तेज वा चमक की कला मध्यरात्रि के पश्चात् सूर्य के क्रमशः एक एक कला ऊपर उठते हुये मध्याह्न तक पृथ्वी पर बढ़ती जाती है और मध्याह्न के पश्चात् मध्यरात्रि के आने तक एक-एक कला पर क्रमशः नीचे आते हुए सूर्य का तेज क्रमशः पृथ्वी पर कम होता जाता है। इसी प्रकार जब सबसे बड़ी रात होती है और दिन सबसे छोटा होता है तब सूर्य के दक्षिण की ओर परम क्रान्ति पर पहुंच जाने के पश्चात् एक-एक कला उत्तर की ओर बढ़ते हुए सूर्य का तेज पृथ्वी पर क्रमशः एक-एक कला तब

तक बढ़ता जाता है जब तक सूर्य उत्तर की ओर परम क्रांति पर नहीं पहुंच जाता। इसके पश्चात् सूर्य का तेज क्रमशः एक एक कला घटता जाता है जब तक सूर्य दक्षिण की ओर परम क्रांति पर नहीं पहुंच जाता। एक वर्ष में सूर्य के तेज के क्रमशः बढ़ने और घटने से वर्ष के दो हिस्से हो जाते हैं। एक हिस्से को उत्तरायण कहते हैं और दूसरे को दक्षिणायन। इन कालों में सूर्य तेज के अर्थात् अग्नि के क्रमशः बढ़ने घटने के कारण बाहर के तापांश बदलने से तीन ऋतुओं में प्राणियों के शरीरों में अग्नि की गति बहिर्मुख होती है और तीन ऋतुओं में अन्तर्मुख रहती है। वसन्त, ग्रीष्म, वर्षा इन तीन ऋतुओं में अग्नि की गति बहिर्मुख रहती है और शरद् हेमन्त शिशिर इन तीन ऋतुओं में अग्नि की गति अन्तर्मुख रहती है। अग्नि अपनी बहिर्मुख गति में शीत गुण प्रधान सोम को आक्रांत करता है, और अन्तर्मुख गति में शीत गुण प्रधान सोम से आक्रांत रहता है। सोम को आक्रान्त कर लेने से अग्नि सोम-गर्भित हो जाता है और सोम से आक्रान्त रहने से सोम अग्नि-गर्भित हो जाता है। वसन्त, ग्रीष्म, वर्षा काल में अग्नि सोम-गर्भित हो जाता है और शरद्, हेमन्त, शिशिर में सोम अग्नि-गर्भित हो जाता है। सोम-गर्भित अग्नि को देव प्राण कहते हैं और अग्नि-गर्भित सोम को पितृ प्राण कहते हैं। पितृ प्राण में अग्नि दबा रहता है उन्मुग्ध अवस्था में रहता है। देवप्राण में अग्नि दबा नहीं होता वह उद्बुद्ध अवस्था में रहता है। पितृ प्राणों के परस्पर घर्षण से उन्मुग्ध अग्नि उद्बुद्ध हो जाता है। अग्नि के उद्बुद्ध होते ही पितृप्राण देवप्राण में बदल जाता है।

जो विद्वान् पितृप्राण से देवप्राण और देवप्राण से पितृप्राण बनाना जानता है वह देवप्राण की आवश्यकता पड़ने पर देवप्राण बना लेता है और पितृप्राण की आवश्यकता पड़ने पर पितृप्राण बना लेता है। पितृप्राण के सचय से देह में वृद्धि होती है, क्षीणता दूर होती है और देवप्राण के सचय से ज्ञान की वृद्धि होती है, बुद्धि मान्द्य दूर होता है। इस प्रकार देवप्राण और पितृप्राण की नेचर—प्रकृति वा स्वभाव—का समझने से स्पष्ट प्रकट होता है कि उत्तरायण में देवप्राण प्रबल रहते हैं। तथा दक्षिणायन में पितृप्राण प्रबल रहते हैं। देवप्राण में विद्यमान अग्नि अमृत है क्योंकि बहिर्मुख होने से आवरणकारक सोम में घिरा न होने से मृत नहीं है, इसलिये देव (देवप्राण) अमृत है और पितृप्राण में विद्यमान अग्नि मृत है क्योंकि अन्तर्मुख होने से आवरणकारक सोम से घिरा होने से मृत है इसलिये पितर (पितृप्राण) मर्त्य है। देव रूप में विद्यमान अग्नि वसन्त में सचित अर्थात् बसा हुआ होने से ब्राह्मण को चाहिए वसन्त में अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करे। इस प्रकार ब्राह्मण की जो सन्तान होगी उसमें भी अग्नि के विशेष रूप से सञ्चित होने से वह विशेष रूप से ज्ञान की वृद्धि में रुचि रखने वाली होगी, ब्रह्मवर्चसी होगी। इस प्रकार जो भी मनुष्य अपनी सन्तान ब्रह्मवर्चसी बनाना चाहता है उसे चाहिए कि वह वसन्त में अग्न्याधान करे। परन्तु जो मनुष्य चाहता है कि उसकी सन्तान श्री और यश को चाहने वाली और उससे युक्त हो उसे चाहिए कि वह ग्रीष्म ऋतु में अग्न्याधान करे। ग्रीष्म ऋतु में देव अग्नि का चारों ओर खूब प्रसार रहता है। जैसे ग्रीष्म ऋतु

मे अग्नि का चारों ओर प्रसार रहता है वैसे ग्रीष्म ऋतु में अग्न्याधान से उस उत्पन्न हुई सन्तान का भी यश चारों ओर फैलता है और उससे उसे भी लाभ होता है। यश यह भी अग्नि के प्रसार का ही रूप है। इसलिये क्षत्रिय और जो भी मनुष्य अपनी सन्तान मे यश और श्री को चाहे वह ग्रीष्म में अग्न्याधान करे। फैलता हुआ अग्नि अन्तरिक्ष मे अत्यधिक संचित हो जाने से परस्पर संघात होकर गिरने लगता है। इस प्रकार अग्नि की नानारूपता को ध्यान में रख कर जो मनुष्य वर्षा मे अग्न्याधान करता है उसकी सन्तान बहुत सन्तान वाली और बहुत पशु धन वाली होती है। इसलिये जो चाहे उसकी सन्तान ऐसी हो उसे चाहिए वर्षा ऋतु मे अग्न्याधान करे। वस्तुतः देखा जाय तो दोनों ही ऋतु, चाहे उत्तरायण की हो और चाहे दक्षिणायन की, निर्दोष है। सूर्य दोनों ही ऋतुओं में है जो इन दोनों के दोषों को हर लेता है। उदय होते ही यह ऋतु के दोष को दूर कर देता है। इसलिये जब भी यज्ञ करने के लिये दिल मे आवे तब ही अग्नि का आधान कर दे। कल २ की बाट न देखता रहे। कौन जानता है कल मनुष्य का क्या होना है। इसलिये ऋतुओं के विशेष २ प्रभाव को ध्यान में रखते हुए जब भी अनुकूल अवसर प्राप्त करे तब ही अग्न्याधान कर सकता है।

अग्न्याधान के लिये जमीन की तैयारी

अग्न्याधान (गर्भाधान) करना एक नया घर बसाना है। घर कहां बसाना चाहिए उसके लिये उपयुक्त जमीन कैसी होनी चाहिए किन २ द्रव्यों से सम्पन्न जमीन होनी चाहिये यह भी

एक विचारणीय विषय है। जिस जमीन पर रहना हो उस जमीन पर पानी का प्रबन्ध अच्छा होना चाहिये। बिना पानी के जीवन निर्वाह कठिन है। बिना पानी के अन्न भी उत्पन्न नहीं हो सकता जिसको खा कर जीवन निर्वाह कर सकें। अन्न का पानी के साथ इतना घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है कि पानी को ही अन्न कह देने में कोई अत्युक्ति नहीं है। पानी की विशेषता के अतिरिक्त दूसरी विशेषता उस जमीन की यह है कि उस जमीन में खार हो। खार यह शुक्र का रस है। सूर्य की किरणों के द्वारा तथा जल की सूक्ष्म वाष्प के साथ मिल २ कर वर्षा और ओस के द्वारा पृथिवी में जज्ब होता रहता है। जिस जमीन में खार पर्याप्त होता है वहां पशु खुश रहते हैं मौज करते हैं वृद्धि पाते हैं। इसलिये पशुओं की दृष्टि से उस जमीन में खार अवश्य होना चाहिये। तीसरी विशेषता उस जमीन की यह होनी चाहिए कि उस जमीन में लोहा, रांगा, तांबा, चांदी, सोना आदि ऊंची धातुओं के सौल्ट पाये जावें। सोने का पाया जाना जीवन के लिये बहुत ही गुणकारी है। घनीभूत शुद्ध आपः के अन्दर अग्नि की ज्योति के अत्यधिक मात्रा में बैठ जाने से कुदरत में सोना तैयार होता है। आपः और अग्नि के सम्बन्ध से सोना तैयार होने से यह प्रायः जलीय स्थानों में पाया जाता है। जिस मिट्टी के अन्दर सोना सूक्ष्म रूप से रहेगा उस मिट्टी में उत्पन्न होने वाले अन्न में भी वह सूक्ष्म रूप में आ जावेगा। ऐसे अन्न के सेवन करने से अवश्य ही जीवन को विशेष लाभ होगा, क्योंकि सोना हृदय के लिये बहुत ही मुफीद है, क्षय आदि भयानक रोगों का सर्वोत्तम इलाज है, जीवनीय है, आयुष्य है। चौथी विशेषता उस जमीन

की यह है कि उस जमीन में मोटे २ चूहों के बिल हों। चूहे पृथ्वी के उस रस को पहिचानते है जिसके सेवन करने से शरीर मजबूत और हृष्ट-पुष्ट हो जाता है। जिस जमीन मे पृथ्वी का यह रस विशेष होता है उसमें चूहे बड़े २ बिल बना कर अन्दर घुसते चले जाते है और मिट्टी में से उस रस को चाटते रहते हैं। बहुत सी मिट्टी अन्दर से खोद २ करके बाहिर डाल देते हैं। ऐसी जमीन में उत्पन्न हुआ अन्न पृथ्वी के उस रस से भरपूर होगा जो शरीर को मजबूत और हृष्ट-पुष्ट बनाता है। वह अन्न शरीर के लिये विशेष उपयोगी होगा।

जमीन न तो अत्यधिक भुरभुरी होनी चाहिए और न अत्यधिक ठोस। अत्यधिक पिलपिली और भुरभुरी होने से पौधों की जड़ें मजबूती से जमीन को न पकड़ेंगी, पौधे गिर २ पड़ेंगे। अत्यधिक ठोस होने से पौधों की जड़ें जमीन में जमेंगी हो नहीं, अपना रास्ता न निकाल सकेगी। अतः इस दोष को दूर करने के लिये जमीन में शकरा (छोटी बजरी) मिला देनी चाहिए। बजरी से जमीन का पिलपिलापन और ठोसपन दोनों दूर हो जावेंगे। जमीन मे अन्न ठीक २ पैदा हो जावेगा।

जिस जमीन में इस प्रकार की सम्पत्ति न हो और वहां बसना ही पड़े उस जमीन मे दूसरे स्थानों से ये सब मिट्टियां लाकर डालें। अपने निर्वाह के लिये जमीन तैयार हो जाने पर फिर उस पर बसे और खेती करे। जो जमीन गन्दी हो, जहां घास, फूस, झाड़ झंखाड़ बहुत हो उसको इतना खुदवा दे कि घास, फूस आदि पौधों की जड़ें निकल जाने से वह साफ हो जाय। यदि ऐसा न किया जायगा तो अन्न को जितना रस प्राप्त होना आवश्यक

होगा वह उसे न प्राप्त होगा। अन्य पौधे उस रस को खींच लेंगे जो हमारे उपयोग में नहीं आते। इस प्रकार जमीन को पूरी तरह से तैयार करे, संस्कृत करे। जमीन में से अनावश्यक और हानिकारक विघ्न स्वरूप पदार्थों को निकाल डाले। ऐसी तैयार भूमि में मनुष्य बसेगा, अपना घर बनावेगा अर्थात् अग्न्याधान करेगा तो सचमुच उसका योगक्षेम ठीक प्रकार से चलता रहेगा।

घर बनाने के लिये नींव खोद कर जमीन तैयार करनी है तो भी इसी प्रकार तैयार करना चाहिए। विवाहित पुरुष जिस जमीन पर स्थिर रूप से अग्नि का स्थापन करे वह स्थान भी इसी मसाले से अच्छा पक्का बना होना चाहिए, ढीला ढाला बना हुआ न हो। इस प्रकार जल, हिरण्य, खार चूहों की मिट्टी और बारीक बजरी इनको मिला कर जमीन तैयार करके यज्ञ के लिये जमीन को भी यज्ञरूप बनाया जाता है। प्रत्येक कार्य में यज्ञभावना बनी रहने से कार्यों में पवित्रता और सौन्दर्य आ जाता है। इस प्रकार भूमि तैयार हो जाने पर उस पर अग्न्याधान करे।

यज्ञभावना से भावित होकर इस प्रकार की भूमि तैयार होने पर उसके अन्न को सेवन करके जो बालक तैयार होंगे और जो स्त्री और पुरुष तैयार होंगे वे सचमुच उस अग्नि को ग्रहण कर सकेंगे या उनके हृदयों में भी वह अग्नि प्रज्वलित हो सकेगी जिसकी तीव्रता से देश व जाति का कोई कार्य सम्पन्न हो सकेगा, किसी कार्य के करने में कभी पीछे न हटने वाली मण्डली इसी प्रकार तैयार हो सकेगी। अग्निहोत्र यह पवित्र

कर्म है जिसके द्वारा एक मनुष्य अपने दिल की आग दूसरे दिलों में फूंकता है। ऐसे दिल तैयार करना जिनमें अपने दिल की आग लग सके यह अग्निहोत्र के लिये जमीन तैयार करना है।

अग्न्याधान के पूर्व व्रतचर्या

कई विद्वानों का ऐसा ख्याल है कि जिस दिन अग्न्याधान करना हो उससे पहिले दिन भोजन न करे, उपवास रक्खे। देव (उत्तम वृत्तियां) जब तक यज्ञ में भाग न ले लें और अपने आपको तृप्त न कर लें तब तक उनकी अवहेलना करके स्वयं अन्न ग्रहण करना अनुचित है, अतः दिन में तो भोजन करले परन्तु रात को भोजन न करे। वस्तुतः देखा जाय तो जब तक मनुष्य आहिताग्नि नहीं होता तब तक वह एक सामान्य मनुष्य के समान है। सामान्य मनुष्य के लिये कोई जिम्मेवारी (व्रतचर्या) नहीं है। अतः सामान्य मनुष्य के रूप में वह बेशक रात को भोजन कर सकता है इसमें कोई दोष नहीं है। ऐसे सामान्य मनुष्य के लिये उपवास का कुछ नियम नहीं है।

कई लोग ऐसे मौके पर बकरे को बांध छोड़ते हैं। वे समझते हैं कि बकरा चूंकि आग्नेय प्राणी है, अतः आग्नेय प्राणी के पास बंधे रहने से अग्नि के स्वरूप में किसी प्रकार की कमी न आवेगी, अग्नि का स्वरूप पूर्ण रहेगा। परन्तु ऐसा करने की भी कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है। अग्नि के स्वरूप को पूर्ण तो अग्नीध् (आग जलाने वाले) ने करना है अतः बकरा बांधने की कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है। हां यदि बकरा हो तो उसे

अग्नीध् को दे दे। बस! उसको देने से ही सब मतलब पूरा हो जावेगा।

कई लोग चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन पकाया करते हैं। इतना भात जिसे चार जने खा सकें। भात खिला कर वे समझते हैं कि यज्ञ के भिन्न २ विभागों में काम करने वाले अच्छी प्रकार कार्य करेंगे और यज्ञ सफल हो जायगा—यज्ञ की गाड़ी अपने निर्दिष्ट स्थान पर सुरक्षित पहुंच जावेगी। ऐसा करने की भी कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि आहिताग्नि बनने वाले मनुष्य के घर में जो ब्राह्मण रहते हैं चाहे वे ऋत्विक् हों और चाहे ऋत्विक न हों उनकी निगरानी से ही सब काम सफल हो जावेगा। अतः खास तौर पर चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन पका कर कार्यकर्ताओं को खिलाने की कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है।

कई लोग चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन में घी डाल कर पीपल की तीन समिधायें घी में भिगोकर समिध् और घृत शब्द वाली ऋचाओं को बोलते हुए उस ओदन में रखते हैं। वे समझते हैं कि ओदन को अग्निगर्भ बना रहे हैं अर्थात् उसके पेट में अग्नि रख रहे हैं। ऐसे अग्निगर्भित भात को खा कर मनुष्य भी अग्निसमान हो जाता है। परन्तु ऐसा करना भी व्यर्थ है, क्योंकि संवत्सर के शुरू में जो अग्न्याधान करता है उसको वही फल प्राप्त होता है। संवत्सर के शुरू में कुदरत से ही पदार्थों में अग्न्याधान हुआ करता है। उस अग्न्याधान से स्वयं ही पदार्थ अग्निगर्भित हो जाते हैं, अतः चातुष्प्राश्य को समिधा रख कर अग्निगर्भ करना व्यर्थ है, ऐसा न करें।

इस विषय में भाल्लवेय कहते हैं कि इस मौके पर चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन पकाना बड़ा भारी अपराध है। चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन पकाना ऐसी ही बात है जैसे कोई करना कुछ चाहता हो करने कुछ और लगे, बोलना कुछ हो बोलने कुछ लगे, जाना किसी रास्ते हो चलने किसी और ही रास्ते पर लगे। क्योंकि यह बात ठीक नहीं है कि जिस अग्नि में ऋचा से, साम से, यजु से समिधाधान करे वा हवन करे उसको किसी मामूली से काम के लिये (चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन पकाने के लिये) दक्षिण की ओर ले जावे अर्थात् मुख्य स्थान से हटा दे वा उसका पीछे २ चलावे, क्योंकि ऐसा करने वाले जिससे जो काम लेना चाहिए उससे वह काम न लेकर ओदन पकाने जैसा साधारण सा काम लेने लग जाते हैं अथवा उसको एक नौकर के समान पीछे २ चलाते हैं। चूंकि संसार में जो जिस कार्य के योग्य हो उससे वही कार्य लेना चाहिए इस नियम से ठीक व्यवस्था बनी रहती है। अतः बड़ी सावधानी से योग्य से योग्य कार्य लेवे अयोग्य नहीं। इसी को इस प्रकार सिखाया जाता है कि जिस अग्नि में समिधाधान करना हो वा हवन करना हो उस अग्नि में चातुष्प्राश्य ओदन आदि पकाने का काम न करे। जिस मनुष्य के हृदय में किसी कार्य विशेष को पूरा करने के लिये अग्नि जल रहा है तीव्र लगन लगी है उस मनुष्य को अन्य ऐसे कार्यों में फंसा देना, जिन कार्यों की ओर उसका झुकाव नहीं है, बड़ा अनुचित है। ऐसा करने से वह मनुष्य उन कार्यों को तो कर ही न सकेगा प्रत्युत उस कार्य से भी हाथ धो बैठेगा जिस कार्य के करने के लिये उसके हृदय में तीव्र लगन लगी है। संसार में चूंकि

मनुष्यों की योजना ठीक २ नहीं हो रही है। इसी से सांसारिक मनुष्यों की जिन्दगी अशान्त है, बेचैन है। अतः ससार में अशान्ति को दूर करने के लिये और जीवन को सुखी बनाने के लिये मनुष्यों को चाहिए कि जिस कार्य के लिये जो योग्य हो उसको उसी कार्य में नियुक्त किया करें।

कई कहते हैं कि जिस रात अग्न्याधान करना हो उसकी पहिली रात को जागरण करना चाहिए, क्योंकि मनुष्य जागता रहे तो देव भी जागते रहते हैं। ऐसा करने से वह मनुष्य उत्कृष्ट देव, कर्मशील और तपस्वी बन कर अग्न्याधान करता है। इस विषय में भी यही कहना है कि बेशक सो जावे, जागने का व्रत करने का कुछ कर्तव्य नहीं है। जब तक आहिताग्नि नहीं बन जाता तब तक तो सामान्य मनुष्यों जैसा है। सामान्य मनुष्य के लिये व्रत सम्बन्धी कोई बन्धन नहीं है। ऐसे बन्धन तो आहिताग्नि मनुष्य के लिये हैं अर्थात् उस मनुष्य के लिये हैं जिसके हृदय में जीवन में किसी खास काम को कर डालने की अग्नि जल रही है। यदि ऐसी अग्नि नहीं जल रही अर्थात् हृदय मे अग्नि का आधान नहीं किया गया तो मनुष्य बिलकुल एक सामान्य मनुष्य के सामने है। अतः अनाहिताग्नि के लिये व्रतचर्या नहीं है। अब आगे बतलाया जायगा कि आहिताग्नि हो जाने से क्या विशेषता हो जाती है।

आहिताग्नि की विशेषता

प्रजापति ब्रह्मा की दो प्रकार की सन्तान थीं—एक देव और दूसरे असुर। सृष्टि में मनुष्य दो प्रकार के उत्पन्न होते हैं।

एक प्रकार के मनुष्य वे उत्पन्न होते हैं जो अपनी आत्मा की शक्तियों को बढ़ाते हैं, प्रकृति को आत्मा की शक्तियों के पहिचान का सहायक बनाते हैं। इस प्रकार वे आत्मा के अमरत्व और पूर्णता को पहिचान कर आनन्द का अनुभव करते हैं। इस प्रकार के मनुष्य देव कहलाते हैं। दूसरी प्रकार के मनुष्य वे हैं जो प्राकृतिक सामग्री को इकट्ठा करने में ही अपनी सम्पूर्ण शक्ति का व्यय करते हैं। वे समझते हैं जितना ही अधिक प्राकृतिक सामग्री का संचय वे कर लेंगे उतना ही अधिक वे आनन्द में रहेंगे और पूर्ण हो जावेंगे। पहिले प्रकार के लोग देव कहलाते हैं और दूसरे प्रकार के असुर। देव आत्मान्मुख होते हैं और असुर अनात्मोन्मुख। देव आत्मदृष्टि हैं और असुर अनात्मदृष्टि। देव त्यागवृत्ति हैं, असुर भोगवृत्ति। देव शान्त हैं, असुर लड़ाके। इस प्रकार देव और असुर विपरीत स्वभाव के होने के कारण हमेशा आपस में झगड़ा करते हैं।

एक बार दोनों झगड़ने लगे। दोनों ही अपने को अनात्मा समझते थे। अनात्मा का अर्थ है मर्त्य अर्थात् मरणधर्मा मनुष्य। दोनों ही अपने को मर्त्य समझते हुए भी अपने में अमृतभाव भी समझते थे। उस अमृतभाव का नाम अग्नि है। दोनों ही समझते थे कि वे उस अग्नि के आश्रय से जी रहे हैं। प्रत्येक मनुष्य जिस भाव विशेष को लेकर अपना प्रयत्न करता रहता है, उसका वह भाव विशेष ही उसका अग्नि कहलाता है। जिसके अन्दर हृदय में कोई अग्नि जल रहा है वह मनुष्य द्विज है और जिसके अन्दर कोई अग्नि नहीं जल रहा है जिसके हृदय का अग्नि बुझा

दिया जाता है वह शूद्र है हमेशा पराधीन रहने वाला है; स्व-तन्त्रता उसके पास नहीं है, स्वतन्त्रता से वह बहुत दूर है। देव और असुर इसी प्रकार का प्रयत्न किया करते थे। इनमें से जो किसी की अग्नि को बुझा देता था उसे वह अपने में मिला लेता था। शुद्धि की इसो कशमकश में देव थोड़े से रह गये। देव सोच मे पड़ गये और श्रम करने लगे कि किस प्रकार हम इन असुरो को नीचा दिखावें। देवों ने एक तरकीब ढूंढ निकाली कि अभ्याधान ही हमारा बचाव है। उन्होंने संगठित होकर अपने आत्मा मे अग्नि का आधान किया। देव जुदा २ हो रहे थे अब आत्मिकता के अग्नि के लिये एक हो गये। संसार में शान्ति आत्मिकता की आग को जगाने से हो सकती है। असुरों की माया ने संसार को चक्कर में डाल रक्खा है—परेशान कर रक्खा है। देव लोग आत्मिकता के झण्डे के नीचे इकट्ठे होकर एक हो गये और अपनी रक्षा की। सांसारिक पदार्थों के प्रलोभनों में फसने से अपने आपको रोक लिया और असुरों के काबू से बाहिर हो गये। देव कहने लगे कि अग्नि तो हम दोनों में ही है चलो, असुरों से हम इस बात को कहें। देव असुरों से कहने लगे हम तो अग्नियों का आधान करेंगे, मुर्दा दिलों को जिन्दा बनावेंगे, ऐसे केन्द्र कायम करेंगे जहां शिक्षा ग्रहण करके प्रेम आदि आत्मिक गुणों की उन्नति की भावनाओं से भावित होकर जाति के बालक चेतन हो जावेंगे, भला! तुम क्या करोगे? असुरों ने जवाब दिया कि हम तो अग्नि का निधान ही करेंगे, क्योंकि तुम्हारे तो हवाई किले हैं, दूर की बातें हैं, जिनके होने न होने की कोई आशा नहीं। अग्नि का प्रत्यक्ष फल तो संसार

में उससे जीवन के लिये कुछ काम लेने में है, अतः हम तो निधान ही करेंगे। अग्नि की बड़ी २ निधि बना कर संसार में बड़ा २ कार्य हो सकता है जो लोगों की कल्पना से भी बाहिर है। कोयलों के बड़े २ स्टोर, बारूद के बड़े २ बारूदखाने, तोपखाने, मशीनगनें, बौम्ब पटाखे, पैट्रोल, और कैरोसीन औयल के बड़े २ टैंक, विषैली गैसें, लड़ाई के हवाई और जलीय जहाज, युद्ध की सम्पूर्ण सामग्री ये सब अग्नि के विविध रूप हैं जो अग्नि के महत्व को प्रकट करते हैं अग्नि की साक्षात् मूर्तिमान् सामने खड़ा कर देते हैं। अतः हम तो अग्नि का निधान ही करेंगे अर्थात् उसकी बड़ी २ निधि बनावेंगे। अग्नि हमारे कब्जे में होगा हम हुक्म देंगे यह तिनकों के ढेर को (गरीबों की झोपड़ियों को) भस्म कर दे, यह लकड़ियों को (जङ्गलों को) आग लगा दे, यहां भात पका, यहा मास पका इत्यादि। असुरों ने जो अग्नि की निधि का रिवाज चलाया है उसी के कारण मनुष्य खाते पकाते तथा अग्नि के अनेक बड़े २ काम करते हैं।

अग्नि के केवल इस प्रकार के बाह्य प्रयोगों के अवलम्बन पर लोगों में परस्पर अविश्वास, वैमनस्य, कलह, दूसरों का हर तरह से नुकसान करने की वृत्ति, खुदगर्जी आदि विकार स्वभाव से उत्पन्न होते हैं। संसार में अशान्ति फैलती है, दूसरों को मार डालने, भस्म कर डालने, तहस-नहस कर डालने के साधन बढ़ने लगते हैं। संसार में किसी को कोई अपना नहीं दीखता। सब एक दूसरे को खाने और हड़प करने वाले राक्षस दीखते हैं! प्रेम, दया, कृपा, सुहृद्भाव, त्याग, मेल जैसे उच्चभावों का तो सर्वत्र अभाव सा दीखता है। इस विचार से देवों ने

अग्नि का आत्मा में आधान किया। संसार की रक्षा व संसार में शान्ति के लिये देवों ने अपने आपको संगठित किया, त्याग के लिये वे तुल गये, प्रकृतिवाद के आधार पर बाहर से शक्तिशाली और अन्दर से छिन्नभिन्न हुए—खोखले हुए—असुरों पर उन्होंने विजय पाई, असुरों का अभिभव हुआ, पराजय हुआ। इसलिये जहां आहिताग्नि और अनाहिताग्नि लोगों में—असूल वाले और बे असूले लोगों में—भिड़न्त होती है वहां अन्त को आहिताग्नि लोगों की ही विजय होती है, क्योंकि वे लोग एक असूल पर कायम होने से अजेय होते हैं, अमर होते हैं, असूल पर कायम रहना यह उनका जीवन होता है। वे कभी पीछे नहीं हटते अतः विजयी होते हैं। जो मनुष्य संसार में विजयी होना चाहें वे आहिताग्नि बनें। जगत् के आधार आत्मा की अग्नि को प्रज्वलित करके शान्ति की वेदि पर अपने आपको बलिदान करें।

अग्न्याधान के फल

वरुणो हैनद्राज्यकाम आदधे। स राज्यमगच्छत्। तस्माद्यश्च वेद यश्च न 'वरुणो राजा' इत्येवाहुः। सोमो यशस्कामः (आदधे)। स यशोऽभवत्। तस्माद्यश्च सोमे लभते यश्चनोभावेवागच्छतो यश एवैतद्द्रष्टुमागच्छन्ति। यशो ह भवति, राज्यं गच्छति य एवं विद्वानाधत्ते॥

श० ब्रा० २. २. ३. १॥

अग्न्याधान कोई मामूली सी बात नहीं है। वेदि (छोटा सा चबूतरा) बना कर उस पर आग रख देना मात्र अग्न्याधान

नहीं है। आग रख कर उसमें दूध की घी की वा अन्य सामग्री की आहुतियां डाल देना मात्र अग्निहोत्र भी नहीं है। क्योंकि इतना करने से राज्य नहीं मिल जाता, मनुष्य राजा नहीं बन सकता। वरुण ने तो अग्न्याधान करके राज्य प्राप्त किया था और हर एक आदमी ने इस बात को माना था कि वरुण राजा है, चाहे उस आदमी ने वरुण के दर्शन किये थे वा नहीं।

इसी प्रकार सोम ने यश की कामना से अग्नि का आधान किया था। वह यशस्वी हुआ जैसे राजा हो जाने पर मनुष्य को वरुण कहा जाता है—उसे वरुण का खिताब मिलता है—क्योंकि वरुण ने बड़ी मेहनत से राज्य प्राप्ति के लिये अग्न्याधान किया था वह अपनी कामना की पूर्ति में सफल हुआ था—राजा कहलाया था, वैसे जो मनुष्य राज्य कामना की तीव्र आग को धारण करता है—कबूल करता है प्रभुत्व की जिम्मेवारी को स्वीकार करता है, वह मनुष्य प्रभुत्व के झण्डे के नीचे इकट्ठे हुए मनुष्यों में स्वतन्त्रता की आग फूंक देता है उनमें स्वतन्त्रता की अग्नि का आधान कर देता है। वे मनुष्य स्वतन्त्रता के झण्डे को फहराते हुए अपने अग्रणी को—स्वतन्त्रता की आग में पड़े हुए अपने नेता को—एक स्वर से पुकार कर कहते हैं 'वरुणो राजा' वरुण हमारा राजा है। अपनी मूर्खता से आप पहनी हुई पराधीनता की बेड़ियों को उतार फेंकने के लिये और स्वतन्त्रता की अग्नि की लपटों में बलिदान के लिये दीक्षित हो कर अपनी २ हवि डालने को हमें वरण करने वाला वरुण हमारा राजा है।

किसी समय पराधीन देश में किसी मनुष्य ने स्वतन्त्रता की प्रचण्ड अग्नि से अपने हृदय को प्रदीप्त किया था। उसके हृदय से स्वराज्य की चिनगारियां निकलती थीं। वह चाहता था देश में हमारा अपना राज्य कायम हो। राज्य की कामना से उसने लोगों को विलासिता के पराधीन जीवन से मुक्त किया अपने हृदय में जलती हुई स्वतन्त्रता युद्ध की तीव्र आग की चिनगारियों से उसने लोगों के हृदयों को चमका दिया। स्वतन्त्रता की आग का अपने हृदयों में आधान करते हुए—अपने ऐश आराम का कुर्बान करके एकमात्र स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति को अपना लक्ष्य बनाते हुए—लोगों का वरण हुआ। स्वतन्त्रता-यज्ञ में अपनी हविः डालने के लिये दीक्षित लोग अपने नेता के सामने वरुण २ के नारे लगाते मैदान में उतर पड़े। 'वरुणो राजा' की पुकार सची और स्वराज्य की प्राप्ति हुई।

इसके अतिरिक्त सोम ने यश की इच्छा से अग्न्याधान किया और उसे यश प्राप्त हुआ। आज जिसे यश प्राप्त हो जाता है उसे लोग सोम नाम से पुकारने लगते हैं—उसे सोम का खिताब देते हैं। यशस्वी मनुष्य का वास लोगों के दिलों में देखा जाता है। जिस मनुष्य ने लोगों के दिलों को जीत लिया वह सचमुच यशस्वी हुआ। लोगों के दिलों को जीतना तलवार के ज़ोर से नहीं होता. घृणा और क्रूरता के बल पर नहीं हो सकता। किसी के हृदय पर विजय प्राप्त करने के लिये अपने आपको दूसरे के लिये कुरबान कर देना होता है। जिस मनुष्य ने अपनी जिन्दगी का लक्ष्य दूसरों के दुःखों को दूर करना बना लिया है, जो मनुष्य स्वयं कष्ट में रहता हुआ भी दूसरे की

सहायता इसलिये नहीं लेता कि उसे कष्ट न हो वह मनुष्य सचमुच दूसरे के हृदय को जीत लेता है। दिल का प्रेम दिल को खींचता है। दूसरे को कष्ट न देना इतने में ही प्रेम नहीं है किन्तु अपने को कष्ट होते हुए भी उसकी परवाह न कर दूसरे के कष्ट निवारण के लिये दुःख की अग्नि में कूद पड़ना सच्चे प्रेम की पहिचान है। इसीलिये माता प्रेम की मूर्ति है साक्षात् सोम की प्रतिमा है। माता को जो स्थान मनुष्य समाज के दिलों में प्राप्त है वह और किसी को प्राप्त नहीं है। उसे अपना कष्ट कष्ट नहीं दीखता बालक का कष्ट बड़ा भारी कष्ट दीखता है। माता साक्षात् यश है—यश की मूर्ति है।

संसार में लोग लड़ रहे है, झगड़ रहे हैं चञ्चल माया प्रकृति के रूपों के पीछे कुत्तों की तरह लपक रहे हैं एक दूसरे को काट खाने को, फाड़ डालने को पड़ रहे हैं। धर्म के नाम पर हिन्दू, ईसाई, मुसलमान, बौद्ध, जैन, यहूदी, पारसी इत्यादि नामों को लेकर जत्थे बनाये जाते हैं, लड़ाई के लिये धार्मिक मोर्चेबन्दी की जाती है। धार्मिक शिक्षा के प्रचार के लिये प्रयत्न किया जाता है, जितना २ अधिक प्रचार होता है उतना ही अधिक वैमनस्य बढ़ता है। इस सब का कारण एक है कि धर्म के असली स्वरूप प्रेम की शिक्षा नहीं दी जाती। धार्मिक शिक्षा में हम सब आपस में किस प्रकार भिन्न हैं—मुख्तलिफ हैं—यही सिखाया जाता है, हम किस प्रकार एक हैं यह मुश्किल से ही कहीं सिखाया जाता है। किसी से पूछो कोई नहीं कहता कि वह अधर्म सिखाता है सब कहते हैं कि हम धर्म सिखाते हैं,

परन्तु परिणाम इस सम्पूर्ण धार्मिक शिक्षा का है—लड़ाई, झगड़ा और अशान्ति।

इस अशान्ति को देख कर सोम कहता है कि तुम सब यश ही तो चाहते हो इसीलिये लड़ते झगड़ते हो। यदि यश चाहते हो तो दूसरों की कदर करो, बेकदरी किसी की मत करो। ससार में सर्वत्र अच्छाई नजर आने लगेगी वा तुम्हारी निगाहों में अच्छाई समा जावेगी तो तुम्हारा कलह मिट जावेगा सब झगड़े निपट जावेंगे।

सोम कहता है जब तुम एक दूसरे को नमस्कार करते हो, नमस्ते वा रामराम कहते हो, गुडमौर्निङ्ग वा आदाबर्ज कहते हो, सलाम वा सत श्री अकाल कहते हो इससे तुम उस आदमी की कदर नहीं करते किन्तु उस दिव्य भाव की कदर करते हो जो सबके हृदयों में व्यापक है जिसके कारण कोई मनुष्य कदरदान होता है मान का पात्र होता है। बस ईश्वर का, खुदा का, अल्लाह का वा गौड का ही तो नूर तुम्हारे सबके हृयय में है जिसको तुम सबके हृदयों में देखा करते हो और उसके आगे सिर झुकाया करते हो। किसी का आदर करने से ईश्वर का आदर होता है और किसी का अनादर करने से, किसी को गाली देने से वा बुरा कहने से ईश्वर का ही अनादर होता है, उसी को गाली जाती है और बुरा वा घृणित ठहरता है। जो मनुष्य यश चाहता है उसे सर्वत्र परमात्मा का दर्शन करना चाहिए किसी को बुरी निगाह से न देखना चाहिए। सोम ने किसी समय लोगों के हृदयों में इसी प्रकार प्रेम का प्रसार किया था और सब का प्यारा बन गया था। सब के प्रेम का पात्र

बन कर सोम ने यश का लाभ किया था। सोम के क्षमा, दया, सहनशीलता, सन्तोष और प्रेम आदि सात्विक भावों को देख कर लोगों ने सोम को अपने हृदयों में स्थान दिया था। सोम का चारों ओर यश फैल गया। प्रेम और दया की आग में बांधने वाले मनुष्य को लोगों ने सोम का नाम दे दिया। यदि मनुष्य चाहते हैं कि वे संसार में शान्ति का जीवन व्यतीत करें तो उन्हें सोम बनना चाहिए। सात्विक गुणों को धारण करना चाहिए। इससे उन्हें यश प्राप्त होगा और वे प्रेम सूत्र में संगठित होकर जिस कार्य में चाहेंगे उसमें सफलता प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। सोम ने यश की कामना से अग्न्याधान किया था और सबको संगठित किया था। परमेश्वर हम सब में प्रेम की अग्नि प्रज्वलित करें कि जिससे हम सच्चे सोम बन कर परस्पर प्रेम सूत्र में संगठित हो जावें।

अग्निहोत्र क्यों करना चाहिए ?

शाश्वद्ध वा एष न सम्भवति योऽग्निहोत्रं न जुहोति तस्मादग्निहोत्रं होतव्यम् ॥ श० ब्रा० २. ३. ४. ८॥

वह मनुष्य कभी फूलता फलता नहीं जो अग्निहोत्र नहीं करता, इस कारण अग्निहोत्र करना चाहिए।

संसार में विचारों का शासन है। मनुष्यों के मन में विचार उठते हैं। विचारों के ऊपर मनुष्य अपनी जान खेल जाते हैं। विचारों के ऊपर मनुष्य अपना तन, मन, धन न्योछावर कर देते हैं। विचार अग्नि हैं। मनुष्य विचारों का पुतला है। मनुष्य अग्नि का पुञ्ज है। जिस मनुष्य से विचारों का उद्गम

नहीं होता, जो मनुष्य बुझा हुआ है, वह मनुष्य मनुष्य नहीं—वह केवल पशु है--दूसरे अग्नियों की भोग्य सामग्री है।

विचारवान् मनुष्य अपने मन के द्वारा यज्ञ करता है। यज्ञ करता है अर्थात् वाक् का प्रयोग करता है। वाक्-यज्ञ में सत्य का व्रत धारण करता है। कहा है—

चक्षुर्वै सत्यम्।

जो बात देखी है—स्वयं अनुभूत है वह सत्य है। जो सत्य का व्रत धारण करता है वह कहता है— देखी हुई बात को अपनी वाणी से कहूंगा, अपनी अनुभव की हुई बात दूसरों को बतलाने के लिये वाणी का प्रयोग करूंगा। वाणी जिस रूप में प्रकट होती है वह रूप वाणी को मन के द्वारा प्राप्त होता है। वाणी से मनुष्य के मन का भान होता है। मन का स्वरूप मनुष्य की वाणी में उतर आता है। वाणी की प्लेट पर मन का फोटो खिंच जाता है। मन के अन्दर जो २ विचार उठते हैं उन विचारों का स्वरूप ही मन का स्वरूप होता है। किसी विचार की अत्यन्त प्रबलता या टिकाव का परिणाम यह होता है कि वह विचार वाणी के रूप में फूट निकलता है। विचार अग्नि हैं वे वाणी का रूप धारण करके मुख से प्रकट हो जाते हैं।

अग्नि र्वाग् भूत्वा मुखं प्राविशत्।

मनुष्य जब व्रत धारण करता है तो अपने कर्म क्षेत्र को सीमित करता है अपनी सर्व क्रियाओं को अपनी सीमा के केन्द्र

में केन्द्रित करता है। ऐसा करने से ही वह अपने व्रत का पालन कर सकता है और इसी प्रकार ही उसका यज्ञ पूरा हो सकता है। अपनी क्रियाओं को केन्द्रित करने से वा एक लक्ष्य में बांधने से मनुष्य की आत्मा में एक प्रकार का बल उत्पन्न हो जाता है जिसका नाम श्रद्धा है। इस श्रद्धा बल के भरोसे पर ही व्रत का पालन होता है व्रत में सफलता मिलती है। जिस श्रद्धा बल के आश्रय मनुष्य को अपने व्रत में अपने निश्चित कार्य में—सफलता मिलती है वह श्रद्धा बल ही मनुष्य के आत्मा के स्वरूप को प्रकट करता है।

यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः ।

श्रद्धा के द्वारा मनुष्य की व्रत में (कार्य में) तत्परता का नाम ही दीक्षा है। मैं इस कार्य को कर ही डालूंगा—करके ही छोड़ूंगा—इस प्रकार की धी का (प्रबल बुद्धि का या विचार का) अपने मन में बैठा लेना ही दीक्षा है। धियः क्षयः धीक्षयः, धीक्षयः एव धीक्षा, धीक्षा एव दीक्षा। व्रत ग्रहण करना व्रत के प्रति मनुष्य की श्रद्धा को प्रकट करता है। श्रद्धा ही दीक्षा है। श्रद्धा के द्वारा मनुष्य अपने आपको व्रत के लिये, कर्तव्य के लिये अर्पण कर देता है; अपने आपको आहुत कर देता है, अपने आपको हविः बना कर व्रत की अग्नि में छोड़ देता है। व्रत को पालन करते हुए मनुष्य का तन, मन धन स्वाहा हो जाता है परन्तु उसकी आत्मा अमर होकर उज्ज्वल होकर उस अग्नि में से निकल जाती है।

इस प्रकार अग्नि में अपना बीज वपन करने से वा अग्नि-होत्र करने से प्रजा के रूप में जो अपना उज्ज्वल रूप तैयार

होता है उससे मनुष्य संसार में फूलता फलता है, ख्याति प्राप्त करता है, अपने कार्य का आगे प्रसार करता है। वाक् रूप में प्रकाशित हुई उसकी अपनी महिमा सर्वत्र फैल जाती है। जहां २ उसकी महिमा फैलती है वहा २ उसका आधान होता है। एक नये विचार को फैलाने वाले मनुष्य की अपनी महिमा का प्रसार ही उसका स्वाहा (स्वां वै मा महिमाऽऽह इति स्वाहा) उच्चारण है। स्वाहा बालने से उस देवता की महिमा प्रकट होती है जिसके लिये स्वाहा उच्चारण किया जाता है। उसकी महिमा के क्षेत्र में आये हुए मनुष्य उस व्रतपति की अग्नि में अपना २ हवन कर डालते हैं—अपने आपको उसके मिशन के अर्पण कर देते हैं। इस प्रकार वह व्रतपति अग्नि सूर्य के समान सर्वत्र चमकता है, अपने यश के द्वारा वायु के समान सर्वत्र गति करता है और अपने विचारों के द्वारा अपने क्षेत्र के चारों ओर चक्कर लगाता है। इस प्रकार जो अग्निहोत्र करता है वह अवश्य ही संसार में फूलता फलता और ख्याति को प्राप्त करता है। मनुष्यों को चाहिए कि जो मनुष्य अपने २ क्षेत्रों में सफलता चाहें वे अवश्य इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र किया करें।

जो मनुष्य अपने आपको किसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में खपा देता है उसके लिये लोगों के दिल में आशङ्का उठती है कि इस प्रकार अपने आपको खपा देने से क्या लाभ। संसार में रह कर संसार का सुख नहीं भोगा और आराम से जिन्दगी न बिताई तो संसार में रहने का क्या लाभ। संसार की स्टेज पर इतने लोग आये अपना २ खेल खेलकर चले गये मृत्यु के

फन्दे में फंसने से कोई न बचा, इसीलिये किसी कार्य के पीछे तुल जाना यह बड़ी मूर्खता है, कोई बुद्धिमानी का लक्षण नहीं है। मृत्यु अग्नि सब को अपना ग्रास बना रहा है। देखते २ तो मनुष्य सब कुछ है परन्तु ज्यों ही उसका ग्रास बना वह खतम हुआ। इसलिये किसी कार्य के पीछे मर मिटने की अर्थात् अग्नि-होत्र करने की कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं है' यह आशङ्का मनुष्यों को समय २ पर हुआ करती है। इसका फल यह होता है कि मनुष्यों के जीवन निराशामय हो जाते हैं, जीवनों में कुछ जीवन प्रतीत नहीं होता, जाति में निष्प्राणता छा जाती है। मुर्दा जाति जीते जी भी मुर्दे से ज्यादह नहीं रहती। ऐसी निष्प्राण जाति प्राणवान् जातियों से ठुकराई जाती है पद दलित की जाती है, मिट्टी में रौंधी जाती है।

बुद्धिमान् मनुष्यों के दिलों में जीवन के सम्बन्ध में जब इस प्रकार की आशङ्का उत्पन्न होती है तो उसका परिणाम बुरा नहीं निकलता, अच्छा ही निकलता है। बुद्धिमान् मनुष्य जीवन के सतत प्रवाह का अनुभव करते हैं, वे देखते हैं किसी कार्य को जिम्मेवारी के साथ करने में मनुष्य मंज जाता है, उसका कालुष्य नष्ट हो जाता है, उसकी मैल छट जाती है, उसकी मुर्दानगी काफूर हो जाती है। वे देखते है आग के अन्दर डाला हुआ सोना आग के तीव्र ताप से कुन्दन हो जाता है, उसके सब मल कट जाते हैं। मैल में सने हुए सोने की आत्मा सोना ही है और शुद्ध सोने की आत्मा भी वही सोना है। आग में तपने से सोना सोना हो जाता है पहले भी सोना होता है और पीछे भी सोना रहता है, आग की तपश सोने को नेस्त

नाबूद नहीं कर देती. उसको मिटा नहीं देती, प्रत्युत उसको चमका देती है। इसी प्रकार किसी कार्य की जिम्मेवारी को उठाना अपने आपको मृत्यु के मुख में रखना है। जिम्मेवारी अग्नि का स्वरूप है, जिम्मेवारी को धारण करना आग में प्रवेश करना है। जिम्मेवारी की आग मनुष्य के जीवन के मैल को छाट देती है। इस आग में पड़ कर मनुष्य अपनी दुर्वृत्तियों के—पाप के बने हुए मैले शरीर का भस्म कर नये शुद्ध चमकीले रूप को धारण करता है। उसका दूसरा जन्म होता है, वह नवीन बन जाता है वह द्विज बन जाता है। जिम्मेवारी की आग में से उत्पन्न हुए सत्य स्वरूप निर्मल उज्ज्वलरूप इस वीर नवीन कुमार पर चारों ओर से देवों की दृष्टि पड़ती है—चारों ओर से देव उसे देखने आते हैं। अग्नि उसमें नेतृत्व को देखते हैं। पवन उसमे क्रियाशीलता—कर्म कुशलता को देखते हैं। सूर्य उसमें प्रकाश, तेज और उदात्तता को देखते हैं। जहा २ मनुष्यों पर उसके नेतृत्व का, क्रियाशील जीवन का, प्रकाश, तेज और उदात्तता का प्रभाव पड़ता है वहां २ मनुष्य वीर बन जाते हैं, कोई उसके नेतृत्व की भावना से भावित होकर अग्नि बन जाते हैं, कोई उसकी कर्मशीलता से भावित होकर वायु बन जाते हैं और कोई उसके प्रकाश, तेज और उदात्तता के प्रभाव से सूर्य बन जाते हैं। इसी प्रकार इन वीरों की सन्तानों में इसी जीवन का, अग्नि का आधान होता है तो वीरों के वीर पैदा होते हैं। आग से आग पैदा होती है और यदि आग न हो तो कोयले का टुकड़ा कोयला ही रहता है। निस्तेज बेकदर रहता

है, निस्तेज निर्वीय जिससे चाहे जैसे ठुकराया जाता है, जिससे चाहे जैसे दबाया और तंग किया जा सकता है। जो अग्निहोत्र नहीं करता वह निस्तेज है, निर्वीय है, निष्प्राण है, निर्जीव है, मुर्दा है दूसरों से हमेशा पददलित होने के योग्य है, ठुकराया जाने के लायक है।

अग्निहोत्र करने वाले वीर कहते हैं कि हम अपने वीर पिता की औलाद हैं—जैसा वह था वैसे ही हम हैं—तो हम भी ऐसी औलाद पैदा करें जो हमारे अनुरूप हो—जैसे हम हैं वैसी ही हो।

ते उ ह एते (वीराः) ऊचुः वयं प्रजापतिं पितर मनुस्मो हन्त वयं यत्सृजामहै यदस्मानन्वसत् ॥

शा० ब्रा० २. २. ४. ११ ॥

यह है अग्निहोत्र का महत्व कि पुत्र कह सकता है कि मैं अपने बाप की औलाद हूं। जैसा मेरा पिता था वैसा ही मैं हूँ। मुझे देख लो जैसा मै हूं वैसा ही मेरा बाप था और जैसा मैं हूँ वैसा ही मेरा पुत्र होगा। जिस घर के अन्दर पिता से पुत्र अलग चले और पुत्र से पिता नाराज रहे उस घर में अग्निहोत्र नहीं होता। ऐसे घरों में किसी उद्देश्य विशेष को, किसी विचार विशेष को जीवन में किसी कार्य विशेष को (यज्ञ को) पूरा करने की धगस में सहायक प्राप्त करने को सन्तानें उत्पन्न नहीं की जातीं। बिना किसी उद्देश्य के केवल अपनी कामवासना को तृप्त करने की गरज से जो सन्तानें उत्पन्न हो जाती हैं वे सन्तानें अपने बाप की सन्तानें नहीं कहला सकतीं क्योंकि वे संसार में किसी उद्देश्य विशेष को पूरा करने के लिये माता

पिता की ओर से नहीं भेजी गई। वे सन्ताने उस पत्र के समान है जिसे पता बिना लिखे लैटर बक्स मे छोड दिया गया है। जिस पत्र का पता नहीं उसने कहा जाना है और किस कार्य के लिए जाना है। बेपते की सन्तानो पर, लवारिस सन्तानों पर माता पिता कुछ क्लेम नही कर सकते उनसे किसी अपनी आशा को पूर्ण करने का दावा नही कर सकते। अग्नि का आधान करते हुए—बीज वपन करते हुए—विशेष विचारों से परिपूर्ण मन का योग यदि उस आधान मे नहीं है तो उस वपन से कालान्तर मे उत्पन्न फल उस आधान करने वाले बोने वाले का नहीं हो सकता क्योकि मन के योग से ही तो वस्तु अपनी होती है जिस वस्तु मे मन का योग नही रहता उस वस्तु मे अपनापन भी नही रहता। अपनेपन का अर्थ ही मन का योग है।

गृहस्थाश्रम सासारिक वासनाओ को तृप्त करने का आश्रम नही है। गृहस्थाश्रम एक बडी जिम्मेवारी का आश्रम है। जिस विवाह सस्कार का करके मनुष्य गृहस्थाश्रम को धारण करता है उस विवाह का अर्थ है ससार म अपने जीवन से उठाये हुए कार्यों का अर्थात आरम्भ किय हुए यज्ञो को अर्थात् अपने ऊपर ली हुई जिम्मेवारियो को पूरा करने के लिये—आगे चलाने के लिये—स्वय विविधरूपों को प्राप्त होना या विविधरूपो का धारण करना (विविधेषु रूपेषु वाहनम् प्रापणम् विवाह) जिस मनुष्य का जीवन निरुद्देश्य है वह विवाह करने का अधिकारी नहीं है, गृहस्थाश्रम की जिम्मेवारी उस पर नहीं डाली जा सकती। किसी कार्य की जिम्मेवारी लकर उस अधूरा

बिना पूरा किये बीच में ही छोड़ देना इस बात को सूचित करता है कि ऐसे आदमी को कोई जिम्मेवारी का काम नहीं सौंपा जा सकता, उसे यज्ञ मे (किसी जिम्मेवारी के काम में) भाग लेने का अधिकार नहीं है। परन्तु जो मनुष्य किसी जिम्मेवारी के काम को उठा कर अर्थात् यज्ञ आरम्भ करके उसे पूरा करने की धुन में है और अपने लिये किसी ऐसे उत्तम से उत्तम सहायक की अपेक्षा रखता है जिसके बिना वह उस कार्य को पूरा नहीं कर सकता तो उसके लिये आवश्यक है कि अपने विचाराग्नि से परिपूर्ण मनोयोग के साथ बीज वपन करके या अग्न्याधान करके अपने ठीक अनुरूप ऐसा पुत्र उत्पन्न करे जो तैयार होकर उसका सहायक बन कर उसके कार्य को पूर्ण करे, उसके यज्ञ का सम्पादन करे, उसको जिम्मेवारी से या ऋण से मुक्त करे। ऐसे मनुष्य की, गति-कार्य में सफलता- यज्ञ की पूर्ति बिना पुत्र के नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि सबसे उत्तम से उत्तम नजदीक से नजदीक और अनुरूप से अनुरूप सहायक उसके पुत्र के सिवाय दूसरा उसका नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि विशेष सत्कारों से युक्त बीज के आधान से उत्पन्न किया गया पुत्र उसका अपना ही फैलाव है। इसी को लक्ष्य करके कहा है बिना पुत्र के संसार में गति नहीं है—

नापुत्रस्य गतिरस्ति ।

अग्निहोत्र करने वाला पिता लावारिस पुत्र उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकता। उस पिता का पुत्र बड़े फख्र के साथ कह सकता है कि मै अपने पिता के ठीक अनुरूप हूँ, उसके काम को पूरा

करने वाला हू और मेरी सन्तान भी ठीक मेरे अनुरूप होगी, मेरे कार्य को पूरा करने वाली होगी।

मनुष्य समाज में सन्तान का प्रवाह किसी न किसी खास मिशन को पूरा करने के लिए चल रहा है। रघुकुल का मिशन वचन का पालन करना अर्थात् सत्य को न छोडना कवियों ने गाया है —

'रघुकुल रीति सदा चली आई ।
प्राण जाय पर वचन न जाई ।"

रामोद्विर्नाभिभाषते ।

वश परम्परा से चलता हुआ यह मिशन ही 'गौ' शब्द से कहा जाता है। किसी एक गौ का ग्रहण करके सन्तान परम्परा में उसके रस का (सार का) अपने मनोयोग से आधान करते चले जाने से उस गौ की रक्षा होती है, गौ का पालन होता है। जिस मिशन को (गौ को) पूरा करने के लिये वा उसको पालन करने के लिये कोई सन्तान परम्परा अपना ध्येय बना लेती है उसी गौ के नाम से, उस सन्तान परम्परा का नाम पड जाता है जिसे गोत्र कहते हैं।

एक मिशन के लोगो का वा एक गोत्र के लोगो का एक विशेष स्वरूप बन जाता है जिसके कारण वे ही उस मिशन के कार्य को वा अपनी गो की रक्षा को दिलोजान से कर सकते है, दूसरे नही। साय प्रात अग्निहोत्री को अपनी गौ का उपस्थान करना आवश्यक होता है—अपने मिशन के कार्य के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा वा लगन को तरोताजा करना होता है। इस प्रकार मिशन

के कार्य मे तत्परता को तरोताजा करके अग्निहोत्री अपने आपको तृप्त किया करते है। इस प्रकार मिशन की भावना से भावित होने का नाम ही गोरस का, दूध का, पान करना है—अपनी हृदय वेदि पर जलती हुई मिशन की अग्नि मे दूध की वा घृत की आहुति डालना है।

इस प्रकार जो मनुष्य साय प्रात अग्निहोत्र करते है वे ससार मे उत्तम प्रजा के भागी होते है जिनको उनकी प्रजा उनका कह सकती है और ससार मे अपने उद्देश्य मे सफल होते हुए उस विजय को प्राप्त होते है जो सचमुच उनकी विजय कहलाती है। अग्निहोत्री जीवन मे अपने लक्ष्य को बना कर अग्नि का स्वरूप धारण करता है उस लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के लिये दूसरो को प्रेरित करके वायु का स्वरूप धारण करता है और उद्देश्य मे सफल होकर उसके प्रकाश से सबको लाभ पहुचा कर सूर्य का रूप धारण करता है। इसलिये जो मनुष्य इसी प्रकार की प्रजा चाहता है और सफलता रूप विजय चाहता है उसे अग्निहोत्र अवश्य करना चाहिए।

अग्निहोत्र का महत्व

१. जो मनुष्य अग्निहोत्र हवन करता है जो मनुष्य करने को उद्यत होता है—उसके घर मे सब देवता आते है। सब समझदार आदमी उसके त्याग को देखने, उसकी सराहना करने उसके साथ सहानुभूति प्रकाशित करने, कष्ट मे उसको मदद देने के लिये उसके घर मे आते हैं। परन्तु जो मनुष्य बिना तैयारी के अग्निहोत्र करने लगता है, बिना नीव खोदे भवन

खड़ा करने के लिये उद्यत होता है, बिना भूमि तैयार किये कार्य आरम्भ करने लगता है, कुण्ड की बिना राख निकाले हवन आरम्भ करने लगता है फोडे की पूय आदि को बिना साफ किये उसे भरने के लिये मरहम लगाने लगता है, शाक भाजी को बिना साफ किये तपेले में चढ़ाने लगता है, सैनिकों की चाल को बिना साधे युद्धक्षेत्र में भेजने लगता है, उस मनुष्य से कार्य में सफल होने का भरोसा छोड़ कर समझदार विद्वान् लोग अर्थात् देव उसे छोड़ कर चले जाते हैं। उसकी सहायता के लिये, उसकी सराहना के लिये, उसका हौंसला बढ़ाने के लिये उसके पास नहीं रहते। समझदार लोग—देव—उसे मूर्ख नासमझ बिना विचारे काम करने वाला, धींगाधींगी से जबर दस्ती जिम्मेवारी के कामों में हाथ डालने वाला समझ कर उसकी तरफ से मुख मोड लेते हैं इससे उस मनुष्य का प्रयत्न निष्फल जाता है, वह अपने काम में सफल नहीं होता। जो मनुष्य कार्य करने की विधि को भली प्रकार समझ कर सफलता के लिये जिन बातों को ध्यान में रखने की आवश्यकता है उनका ठीक २ ज्ञान प्राप्त करके अर्थात् विज्ञान के सहित कर्म-काण्ड की पद्धति में निपुण होकर सब उपायों के साथ किसी जिम्मेवारी के कार्य का आरम्भ करता है—अग्निहोत्र करता है—तो उस कार्य में अवश्य सफलता मिलती है, सब लोग उसके मददगार होते हैं, उसका यश होता है। परन्तु इसके विपरीत जो ऐसा नहीं करता वह अपने कार्य में असफल होता है, कार्य में लगा हुआ उसका धन दौलत सब नष्ट हो जाता है, उसे कोई सहायक नहीं मिलता या उससे विमुख हो जाते हैं, उसे छोड़

देते है और उसका अपयश होता है। उसे सब लोग कहते हैं कि इसने बिना तैयारी के कार्य आरम्भ कर दिया था, बिना कुण्ड को साफ किये हवन आरम्भ कर दिया था अतः नष्ट हो गया। इसलिये अग्निहोत्र के महत्व को समझ कर मनुष्य को चाहिए कि प्रत्येक काम को बड़ी तैयारी के साथ करे, टालमटोल के साथ नहीं।

२. किसी भी कार्य करने की दिशा बतलाने वाला—उस पर प्रकाश डालने वाला—सूर्य है और उस कार्य को आगे ले जाने वाला अगुआ अग्नि है, सूर्य है और अग्नि है। जो भी आहुति दी जाती है—जो भी कार्य किसी को सौंपा जाता है—वह अग्नि के द्वारा ही सौंपा जाता है, आहुति अग्नि मे ही दी जाती है। अग्नि के द्वारा उस आहुति का या उस कार्य का विश्लेषण होता है। विश्लिष्ट कार्य का एक २ भाग जिस २ के योग्य होता है अग्नि के द्वारा उस २ को मिल जाता है। जब अग्नि मे स्फूर्ति और चमक रहती है तब अग्नि अपना कार्य उत्तम रीति से करता है। सूर्योदय से पूर्व और सूर्यास्त के पश्चात् अग्नि मे चमक विशेष रहती है, मानो सूर्य ही चमक के रूप मे अग्नि में बैठा हुआ हो। सायंकाल 'अग्निर्ज्योतिः' मन्त्र से तो अग्नि को लक्ष्य करके ही आहुति दी जाती है, यह आहुति तभी देना उचित है जब कि दूर २ चारों ओर अग्नि की ज्योतिः का प्रसार प्रतीत हो जो कि सूर्यास्त के बाद ही सम्भव है, परन्तु प्रातःकाल 'सूर्योज्योतिः' मन्त्र से जो आहुति दी जाती है वह भी अग्नि मे ही जाती है क्योंकि सूर्य सीधा उसे ग्रहण नहीं कर सकता। सूर्योदय से पूर्व अग्नि ज्योतिष्मान्

रहता है मानो सूर्य ही ज्योति रूप से अग्नि मे प्रतिष्ठित है, अत ज्योतिष्मान् अग्नि म प्रात काल आहुति देना मानो सूर्य को ही आहुति देना है। इस प्रकार प्रात काल सूय के उदय न होने पर आहुति देना अग्नि मे विद्यमान सूर्य को आहुति देना है और सायकाल सूर्यास्त पर अग्नि मे आहुति देना अग्नि मे सूर्य के गर्भरूप से विद्यमान होते हुए अग्नि को आहुति देना है। सायकाल सूर्य अपने ज्योति रेत का अग्नि मे आधान करके गर्भस्थ होता है और प्रात काल सूय बालकरूप से ऐसा उदय होता है जैसा गर्भ से शिशु उदय होता है।

इसी प्रकार विज्ञान का प्रकाशक सूर्यवत् प्रकाशमान वैज्ञानिक स्वाध्याय विज्ञान को प्रयोग मे ल कर दिखाने वाले अग्नि के हृदय मे अपने विज्ञान के रूप मे आहित होता है। आहित हुआ वही विज्ञान उस अग्नि के द्वारा विभिन्न रूपों मे, प्रयोगो मे दृष्टिगोचर होता है जिसके द्वारा साधारण जनता लाभ उठाया करती है। प्रयोक्ता अग्नि के हृदय मे गर्भित विज्ञान परिपक्व होता है और फिर परिपक्व होकर प्रयोगरूपी शिशु के रूप म ससार मे प्रकट होता है। प्रयोगरूप मे उदय हो जाने से असम्भवता का आवरण उस पर से इस प्रकार दूर हो जाता है जिस प्रकार कांचली को छोड कर साप के प्रकट हो जाने से साप का आवरण काचली दूर हो जाता है।

इस प्रकार जो मनुष्य आधान, परिपक्वता और जन्म इन तीन रूपो में अग्निहोत्र के महत्व को समझता है वह सच-मुच काचली से मुक्त सांप की तरह सब पापो से, कालुष्य से

मुक्त होकर जिम्मेवारी को समझ कर यथार्थ सच्ची प्रजा को उत्पन्न करता है, संसार को कुछ देता है अपना सच्चा प्रतिनिधि संसार में छोड़ता है। परमेश्वर हमें बल दे कि हम अग्निहोत्र के महत्व को समझ कर संसार को अपना सच्चा प्रतिनिधि देने में समर्थ बनें।

३. अग्निहोत्र का महत्व, अग्निहोत्र की अनन्तता (अनुपस्थिता) में है। अग्निहोत्र का स्वरूप चक्र है। चक्र का न आदि और न अन्त। सायम् प्रातः, प्रातः सायम्, पुनः सायं प्रातः, प्रातः सायम्। बस ! इसी प्रकार सायं प्रातः का चक्र चल रहा है। सायम् अग्निहोत्र कर लिया तो प्रातः करूंगा और प्रातः कर लिया तो सायम् करूंगा। सायम् प्रातः के चक्र पर चढ़ा हुआ अग्निहोत्र सायम् प्रातः के समान अनन्त है। सायम् के पश्चात् प्रातः अनुपस्थित है और प्रातः के पश्चात् सायम् अनुपस्थित है। सायम् प्रातः की इस अनुपस्थिता में ही अग्निहोत्र की अनुपस्थिता अर्थात् अनन्तता है।

अग्निहोत्र के इस महत्व को समझने वाला मनुष्य कभी निराश नहीं होता है। बाधायें, तकलीफें सामने आती हैं, घबराहट पैदा होती है परन्तु अग्निहोत्र की अनन्तता के रूप को प्रकट करने वाली अग्नि हृदय पटल पर से कभी बुझने नहीं पाती। मनुष्य कभी मुर्झा जाता है परन्तु अपनी अमर ज्योतिः का ख्याल उठते ही फिर उसका खून जोश मारने लगता है, उसके ठण्डे खून में फिर जान आ जाती है। घबरा कर कार्य को छोड़ बैठा था परन्तु फिर कार्य को सम्भाला और सफलता

हुई। भगवान् कृष्ण ने ठखडे पडे हुए अर्जुन को अमर ज्योति का दर्शन कराया और अर्जुन को अमर कर दिया।

अग्निहोत्र मनुष्य का सायम् प्रातः ज्योति के अमरत्व से भावित करता रहता है। इसी अमरता का ध्यान मे रख कर ससार मे नई से नई उत्पत्ति, नये से नये आविष्कार के लिये मनुष्य सतत उद्यत रहता है। उत्पत्ति का सिलसिला कभी बन्द नही होने पाता। यदि अमरता का खयाल लोगो के दिलो से उठ जाय तो कोई भी मनुष्य ऐसे बडे बडे कामो को सभालने मे क्यों हाथ डाले जिनको वह स्वय अपने जीवन मे पूरा कर नही सकता। जीवन का अमरत्व और जीवन की सततता उसे सफलता के लिये हमेशा उद्यत रखती है। मनुष्य इस जीवन मे कार्य आरम्भ कर जाता है कार्य का बीज बो जाता है और अग्निहोत्र के द्वारा सर्वदा उन्नतिशील जीवन का प्रवाह चलाता हुआ अगले जन्म मे फिर उसके फलो का भोग करने के लिये तैयार हो जाता है उसकी श्री को धारण करने मे समर्थ हो जाता है।

इस प्रकार जो मनुष्य अग्निहोत्र की अनन्तता के रूप मे अथवा अमर ज्योति के रूप मे अग्निहोत्र के महत्व को पहिचानता है वह प्रजा से और श्री से हमेशा सम्पन्न रहता है निराशा व असफलता उसके सामने नही टिकती उसका जीवन सर्वदा उद्यमी क्रियाशील और आत्म विश्वास वाला होता है।

भगवान् हम पर कृपा करे कि हम अग्निहोत्र के महत्व के द्वारा ज्योति की अमरता को समझें, कभी निराश न हो, सदा सफल बनें।

अग्निहोत्र से लाभ

१. संसार में प्रजा का उत्पन्न करना मुश्किल नहीं है; किन्तु उत्पन्न प्रजा को संभालना बड़ा ही मुश्किल है। प्रजा न संभले तो मृत्यु का रूप धारण करके पैदा करने वाले को ही खाने खड़ी हो जाती है। अतः बहुत ही सोच समझ करके प्रजा उत्पन्न करनी चाहिए।

प्रजापति ने प्रजा उत्पन्न की अग्नि को भी उत्पन्न किया। अग्नि ने पैदा होते ही सब कुछ दग्ध कर देने की ठानी। जितनी प्रजा थीं वे सब व्याकुल हो गयीं। प्रजाओं ने सोचा हम सब मिलकर इसे पीस डालें यह है ही क्या ? अग्नि ने उन्हें क्षमा नहीं किया और वह प्रजापति के सामने पहुंचा। उसने कहा— मुझसे यह सहन नहीं होता, आखिरकार मैं तुझमें प्रवेश करता हूँ, मुझे तू पैदा करके संभाल। जो तू मुझको इस लोक में पैदा करके संभालेगा तो मैं तुझे परलोक में पैदा करके संभालूंगा। इस शर्त पर प्रजापति ने उसे पैदा करके संभाला—धारण किया – उसका पालन पोषण किया।

अग्न्याधान करना वस्तुतः अग्नि को पैदा करना है। अग्नि को पैदा करके फिर उसे धारण करना है—उसके पालन पोषण का इन्तजाम करना है। जब मनुष्य की एक प्रबल धारणा संसार में प्रकट होकर स्वरूप धारण करती है, तब आवश्यक होता है कि वह पुष्ट हो और फूले फले। यदि मनुष्य-उससे अपना लाभ समझते हैं तो प्रकट हुई उस अग्नि में चारों ओर से अपनी २ आहुति डालने लगते हैं—जिससे जिस तरह

से बन पड़ता है वह उसी तरह से उस अग्नि को जीवित रखने के लिए सहायता पहुँचाने लगता है। चारों ओर से सहायता पाकर वह अग्नि जीवित जाग्रत हो जाता है और जिन्होंने उसे सतेज किया है उनकी सहायता प्राप्त करके मनुष्यमात्र के भले में लग जाता है। मनुष्यमात्र के भले में लगने से उसे एक नया ही लोक प्राप्त होता है जिसका नाम यशोलोक है जो जन्म धारण करने मात्र इस भूलोक से अधिक विस्तृत, अधिक महान् महत् लोक है, दिव्यलोक है, परलोक है। जन्म पूर्व लोक है और यश परलोक है। इस यशोलोक में—परलोक में—पुत्र के यश के साथ पिता को भी यश प्राप्त होता है। पुत्र अपने यशोलोक में—परलोक में—पिता को धारण करता है—पिता को पुष्ट करता है, क्योंकि बीज रूप में पिता का आधान किया हुआ विचाराग्नि ही तो पुत्र में पुष्ट होकर यश को प्राप्त हुआ है। विचाराग्नि के रूप में पुत्र में पिता की ही पुष्टि होती है। इस प्रकार यह पुत्र रूप में होकर भी पिता ही रहता है। इस लाभ को प्राप्त करने के लिये भी अग्निहोत्र करना ही चाहिए।

पुत्रो ह्येष सन्सपुनः पिता भवति,
एतन्नुतत्यस्मादग्नी आदधीत ।

२. मृत्यु से छुटकारा हर कोई चाहता है। परन्तु संसार का नियम है कि मर कर हर कोई जन्म लेता है और जन्म लेकर हर कोई मरता है।

'परिवर्तिनि संसारे मृतः को वा न जायते।
जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्यु ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च ॥'

फिर भी मृत्यु से छुटकारे के लिये हर किसी का प्रयत्न है। उस मृत्यु से छुटकारा जिसके लिये मनुष्य प्रयत्न करता है वह अग्निहोत्र से प्राप्त होता है।

किसी कार्य में सम्पन्न होने के लिये तीन क्रम होते हैं— प्रथम क्रम में उस कार्य के लिये कच्चा सामान इकट्ठा करना होता है, द्वितीय क्रम में उस सामान को ऐसे क्रम में बनाना होता है वा ऐसा सम्बन्ध करना होता है कि उससे प्रयोजन सिद्ध हो सके। तृतीय कर्म में उस बने हुए साधन से जीवन में लाभ प्राप्त किया जाता है। प्रथम क्रम में दक्ष (बल) के साथ चारों ओर से सामान इकट्ठा करने की दिशा (मार्ग) दक्षिणा दिशा है। जो सामान दक्षिण दिशा में आहुत होता है, जो मनुष्य इसी प्रकार किसी कार्य के लिये अपने आपको आहुत करते हैं. किसी कार्य को पूरा करने के लिये भर्ती होते हैं वह सब सामान व मनुष्य दक्षिणाग्नि का रूप है। सामान को तरतीब में करना मनुष्यों को कार्य के लिये तैयार करना अर्थात् पकाना गार्हपत्याग्नि का रूप है। तैयार सामान व पके हुए— सधे हुए—मनुष्यों का कार्य को पूरा करने के लिए जुट जाना आह्वनीयाग्नि का स्वरूप है। तीसरे क्रम के पश्चात् मनुष्य अपने जीवन में आनन्द प्राप्त करता है। इस आनन्द का प्राप्त करना वस्तुतः स्वर्ग का प्राप्त होना है—सांसारिक कष्ट पर (मृत्यु पर) विजय प्राप्त करना है—मृत्यु से छुटकारा पाना है।

अग्नि में कूदना—किसी कार्य को पूरा कर डालने के लिये सन्नद्ध हो जाना- मृत्यु में पांव रखना है। किसी भवन को

बनाने के लिये जितना भी सामान प्राणी या अप्राणी इकट्ठा होता है वह सब का सब उस भवन के रूप मे खड़ा नही हो जाता। बहुत सा सामान केवल सहायक रूप से रहता है, उसमे से कुछ तो गिर जाता है और कुछ वापिस हो जाता है। जो सामान उस भवन के रूप मे खड़ा होकर भवन बन जाता है उसके द्वारा मकान मालिक स्वर्ग का व आनन्द का भोग करता है। जो सामान भवन के रूप मे खड़ा हो चुका वह तो अग्नि मे पड़ कर मर चुका अर्थात् अपनी स्वतन्त्र सत्ता खो चुका, परन्तु मकान मालिक सकल्पाग्नि मे पड़ कर अपने सकल्प को पूरा करके उसके पार हो गया वह अमर हो गया—उसने मृत्यु पर विजय प्राप्त की। जो मनुष्य सकल्पाग्नि को पूरा नही कर पाते है या पूरा करने मे ही समाप्त हो जाते है वे अर्वाक् प्रजा के रूप मे ही रह कर मर जाते है—असफल रहते है, परन्तु जो कर्मयोगी कर्मकुशल मनुष्य संकल्प को पूरा करके सकल्पाग्नि के पार हो जाते है वे प्राक् प्रजा के रूप मे देव, विद्वान्, तजरबेकार होते है इसीलिये वे अमृत होते है।

ससार मे यह सूर्य जो तप रहा है—यह अग्नि है—यह मृत्यु है। इसी के भिन्न भिन्न प्राण इस से निकलते हैं जो जड़ चेतन सब पदार्थों मे विभिन्न रूपो मे अपने आपको प्रकट करते है।

> नूनं जनाः सूर्येण प्रसूताः ।
> सर्वाः प्रजाः रश्मिभिः प्राणेष्वभिहिताः ॥

इन्ही प्राणो के द्वारा गृहीत हुई प्रजायें नानाविध सकल्पाग्नियों के रूप मे ससार मे अपनी २ हलचल कर रही है। वस्तुतः उन प्राणों की ही सकल्पाग्नियो के रूप म हलचल है। इससे अधिक गहराई से कहे तो सूय मृत्यु है और इस मृत्यु के मुख मे सम्पूण जगत् निहित है। जो मनुष्य अपने सकल्प का पूरा कर डालता है वह मृत्यु से छुटकारा पा जाता है, पार हो जाता है देव और अमृत हो जाता है परन्तु जो सकल्प का पूरा नहीं कर पाता है वह अर्वाक् (इधर) ही रह कर मर जाता है बार २ सकल्प किया करता है और बार २ मरा करता है।

अग्निहोत्र करने वाला मनुष्य सायकाल सूर्यास्त होने पर दो आहुतिया अग्नि मे डालता है। दो आहुतिया दो पद है। एक पद सकल्प की दृढता है और दूसरा पद सकल्प को पूरा करने के लिये सामान का इन्तजाम है। इन दो पदो से (दो आहुतियो से) मृत्यु पर सवार होता है—जिम्मेवारी को ग्रहण कर लेता है। प्रात काल भी दो आहुतिया सूर्योदय से पूर्व ही अग्नि मे डालता है। इन दो से भी वह मृत्यु अग्नि में प्रतिष्ठित होता है। सकल्प को पूरा करने मे सन्नद्ध हो जाता है और निर्माण प्रारम्भ कर डालता है। सूर्य उदय होते ही मानो इसे ग्रहण करके उदय होता है अर्थात् जैसे २ सूर्य ऊपर चढता जाता है वैसे २ उसका कार्य भी सम्पन्नता की ओर चढता चला जाता है। इस प्रकार मनुष्य कार्य मे सफल हो जाता है और मृत्यु से (जिम्मेवारी से) छूट जाता है। जो मनुष्य अग्निहोत्र के इस महत्व को समझता है कि अग्निहोत्र के द्वारा मनुष्य का मृत्यु से छुटकारा हो जाता है वह अपने कार्य में

अवश्य सफल होता है और मृत्यु से छूट जाता है। अतः मृत्यु से छुटकारे के सिद्धान्त का बतलाने के कारण मनुष्य को चाहिए अग्निहोत्र का कभी परित्याग न करे और सर्वदा इससे लाभ प्राप्त करे।

३ ससार मे जितने भी यज्ञ है—जितने भी सगठन के काय है जो बिना त्याग की भावना के पूरे नहीं होते, जिनमे अपने आपका खतरे मे डालना पडता है— उन सब मे मुख्य यज्ञ अग्निहोत्र है। बाण मे उसकी नोक का जो स्थान है वही स्थान यज्ञो मे अग्निहोत्र का है। जिस प्रकार बाण के अगले हिस्से को पकडने से सम्पूर्ण बाण को पकड लेता है, इसी प्रकार अग्निहोत्र को काबू कर लेने से सब के सब यज्ञ काबू मे आ जाते है उन पर अधिकार प्राप्त हो जाता है। अग्निहोत्र करने वाला मनुष्य—अग्निहोत्र मे दृढ मनुष्य—किसी भी यज्ञ को किसी भी बडे से बडे काय का आसानी से कर डाल सकता है चूकि अग्निहोत्र के द्वारा मनुष्य के लिये तमाम यज्ञो मे सफलता का द्वार खुल जाता है अत समझना चाहिए कि अग्निहोत्र करने वाले के लिये सब यज्ञकर्म मृत्यु से छूटे रहते है अर्थात् बीच ही मे नहीं मर जाते किन्तु सफलता के साथ सम्पन्न होते है। मनुष्य को चाहिए कि अग्निहोत्र के ऐसे लाभ और महत्व को समझ कर कभी अग्निहोत्र करना न छोडे।

हवन किस वस्तु का किया जाय ?

एक बार याज्ञवल्क्य महाराज राजा जनक के पास गये। वहा उनके साथ इस प्रकार वार्तालाप होने लगा। राजा जनक

ने याज्ञवल्क्य से पूछा— हे याज्ञवल्क्य ! क्या तुम अग्निहोत्र को अर्थात् उस वस्तु को जानते हो जिसका हवन किया जाता है याज्ञवल्क्य ने उत्तर दिया—राजन् ! जानता हूं। क्या है ? दूध ही है। यदि दूध न हो तो किससे हवन किया जाय ? ब्रीही (धान) और यव (जौ) से। यदि ब्रीही और यव भी न हों तो किससे हवन करें ? अन्य जो ओषधियां हों उनसे। यदि अन्य ओषधियां भी न मिलें तो किससे ? जो जंगली ओषधियां मिल जावें उन्हीं से। यदि किसी मौके पर जंगली ओषधियां भी न मिलें तो ? वनस्पति अर्थात् बिना फूल के फल देने वाले किसी बड़े दरख्त की लकड़ी आदि से ही हवन करे। यदि वनस्पति का भी कोई हिस्सा न मिले तो ? जल से ही हवन करले। यदि जल भी किसी मौके पर न मिले तो किससे हवन करे ? ऐसी हालत में याज्ञवल्क्य महाराज बोले—वह भी समय था जब कुछ भी नहीं मिलता था तो भी हवन तो होता ही था, श्रद्धा में सत्य का हवन होता था। श्रद्धा की अग्नि में सत्य घी का हवन सुन कर जनक राजा बोल उठे—याज्ञवल्क्य ! बेशक आप अग्निहोत्र को जानते हो आपको मैं सौ धेनु (गौ के आकार के बने हुए सुवर्ण के सौ सिक्के) अर्पण करता हूं।

यहां पर एक बात विशेष ध्यान देने की है। याज्ञवल्क्य ऋषि हवन करने योग्य द्रव्यों को बतलाते हुए एक २ के बदले में दूसरे २ अनेक द्रव्य बतला गये परन्तु मान्स व चरबी का हवन के द्रव्यों में कहीं नाम न लिया। एक के बदले में दूसरे द्रव्य बतलाते हुए मान्स और चरबी का नाम बड़ी आसानी से लिया जा सकता था। मजबूरी की हालत में कुछ न मिले तो

मान्स वा चरबी से ही हवन कर डाला जाय। जब ये भी न मिले तो क्रमशः श्रद्धा म सत्य की आहुति से ही हवन कर लिया ऐसा समझना उचित है। मास और चरबी का हवन के द्रव्यों मे नाम न लेना स्पष्ट सूचित करता है कि मास और चरबी का हवन याज्ञवल्क्य ऋषि को अभीष्ट नहीं था।

यज्ञ करने वाले उत्तम गृहस्थियो को यज्ञ से बचे हुए अन्न का भोजन करना श्रेष्ठ बतलाया गया है। यज्ञ से बचा हुआ अन्न अमृत है। यज्ञ शिष्ट जो अमृत अन्न है उसका भोजन करने वाले सनातन ब्रह्म को प्राप्त होते हैं। जो स्थिति विश्व मे ब्रह्म की है वह स्थिति उनकी समाज मे प्राप्त होती है।

यज्ञ शिष्टामृतभुजो यान्ति ब्रह्म सनातनम्।

चूंकि मास और चरबी हवन द्रव्य नहीं हैं इसलिये ये यज्ञशिष्ट व अमृत अन्न भी नहीं कहला सकते। यज्ञ करके मनुष्य देवत्व को प्राप्त होता है। मनुष्य मे देवत्व का वास अमृत भोजी होने से होता है। दूसरो की भलाई मे अपने जीवन को समर्पण कर दे सकने वाला अर्थात् यज्ञ करने वाला मनुष्य गरीब जानवरो की हत्या करके अपना पेट कैसे भर सकता है ? यज्ञ करने वाला मनुष्य यज्ञ के बहाने से भी अर्थात् मास और चरबी को यज्ञ शेष करके भी इनका सेवन नहीं कर सकता। याज्ञवल्क्य ऋषि ने इनका यज्ञ मे भाग न देकर देवान्न की कोटि मे ग्रहण नहीं किया है। यज्ञ से बहिष्कृत रहने से ये पिशाचान्न माने गये है। मनु (११-६५) मे लिखा है—देवो के अन्न (हविः) को खाने वाले द्विज (ब्राह्मण) को चाहिए कि यज्ञ

राक्षस और पीशाचो के अन्न का अर्थात् मद्य मांस सुरा और आसव का सेवन न करे।

यदि कोई कहे कि शतपथ ६. २ में 'मांसानि वा आहुतयः' कहा है, इसी प्रकार 'मासीयन्ति हवै जुह्वतो यजमानस्याग्नय' हवन करते हुए यजमान की अग्निया मास की इच्छा करती है ऐसा कहा है, तो शत० ११. ७ में इसी को स्वय स्पष्ट कर दिया है। 'एतद् ह वै परमन्नाद्यं यन्मास स परमस्यैवान्नाद्यस्यात्ता भवति' कि यहा ऐसे २ स्थलों में यज्ञ प्रकरण में मास शब्द से परमान्न का ग्रहण है, साधारण मास का नही। अमरकोष मे 'परमान्नं तु पायसम्' कह कर परमान्न की परिभाषा स्पष्ट कर दी है कि परमान्न शब्द से दूध से बने हुए खीर आदि पदार्थ लेने चाहिए क्योंकि वे सत्वगुण प्रधान किवा सर्वोत्कृष्ट होने के कारण परमान्न है। शतपथ ११. ७ में स्पष्ट कहा है 'पचन्ति वा अन्येषु अग्निषु वृथा मांसम्. अथैतेषा नातोऽन्या मांसाशा विद्यते यस्यो चैते भवन्ति' कि पिशाच लोग गार्हपत्य, आहवनीय, दक्षिण इन तीनो याज्ञिक अग्नियो से भिन्न अन्य अग्नियों में वृथामास को पकाते है। क्योंकि जिस यजमान की ये अग्नियें होती हैं उन अग्नियों का इस परमान्न के अतिरिक्त अन्य मामभक्षण नहीं है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि यज्ञाग्नियो में मांस की आहुति नहीं है।

मांस सेवन से यज्ञ मे दीक्षा का ही अधिकार नही रहता फिर मांस को यज्ञशिष्ट करके खाने की तो बात ही वृथा है। शतपथ ६. २ में कहा है—'न मासमश्नीयात्, यन्मासमश्नीयात्

यन्मिथुनमुपेयादिति न त्वेवैषा दीक्षा' कि मनुष्य मासभक्षण न करे, यदि वह मासभक्षण करता है अथवा व्यभिचार कर्म करता है तो वह यज्ञदीक्षा का ही अधिकारी नहीं रहता। क्योंकि मासभक्षण से मनुष्य की वह यज्ञभावना ही नष्ट हो जाती है जिस यज्ञ कर्म मे वह दीक्षित होना चाहता है। इसलिये कात्यायन श्रौत सूत्र (७, ११३, ११८) मे लिखा है कि यज्ञ दीक्षा लेने से पूर्व सपत्नीक यजमान ब्राह्मण दुग्धपान का व्रत धारण करे, सपत्नीक क्षत्रिय यवागू व्रत रहे और सपत्नीक वैश्य आमीक्षा (श्रीखण्ड) पर रहे। अतः यज्ञ कर्ता को मास सेवी कभी न होना चाहिए।

क्षीरव्रतौ भवतः सपत्नीको यजमानो व्रते दुग्ध पिबेत्। यवागूराजन्यस्यामीक्षा वैश्यस्य। का. श्रौ ७, ११३, ११८

जो मनुष्य कच्चा वा पक्का मास खाते है अथवा अण्डे खाते है वे कामी हो जाते है उनका यज्ञ मे अधिकार नहीं है. यज्ञ मे वे बाहर कर दिये जाते है। इन तीनों पदार्थों के सेवन से मनुष्य मे काम आसक्ति बढ़ता है। अधिक २ सन्तानोत्पत्ति की इच्छा से और सभोग के द्वारा अपनी कामवासना को तृप्त करने के लिये परस्पर प्रेम के जाल मे एक दूसरे को फासते हुए स्त्री पुरुष कच्चे पक्के मांस का व अण्डों का सेवन करते है। ऐसे कामी मनुष्य किसी भी यज्ञ को करने के अधिकारी नहीं रहते अर्थात् वे सार्वजनिक कार्यों को निष्काम भाव से करने की जिम्मेवारी नहीं उठा सकते। स्वार्थ के कारण दूसरों पर निर्दयता, अत्याचार और क्रूरता करने की आदत चाले

ये लोग अपने दुर्व्यवहार से मनुष्यों के हृदयों में परस्पर अविश्वास, अशान्ति और वैमनस्य का अङ्कुर उत्पन्न कर देते हैं। ऐसे मनुष्यों को समाज की जिम्मेवारी का काम सौंपने से समाज भ्रष्ट हो जाता है। इस कारण ऐसे मनुष्य सामाजिक कार्यों से अर्थात् यज्ञो से बहिष्कृत कर दिये जाते है। अथर्ववेद में कहा है—

य आम मांसमदन्ति पौरुषेयञ्च ये क्रविः।
गर्भान् खादन्ति केशवास्तानितो नाशयामसि ॥

कि जो कामी लोग कच्चा मांस खाते हैं वा पुरुष सम्पादित (पका हुआ) मांस खाते हैं वा अण्डों को खाते हैं उनको यहां से निकाल भगाते हैं, यहां नहीं रखते।

मनु ने कहा है—

समुत्पत्ति च मांसस्य वधबन्धौ च देहिनाम्।
प्रसमीक्ष्य निवर्तेत सर्वमांसस्य भक्षणात् ॥ ५. ४९॥

कि मांस की उत्पत्ति जानवरों का वध करके उन्हें तकलीफ देकर होती है अतः किसी भी प्रकार का मांस भक्षण न करना चाहिए अर्थात् चाहे वह यज्ञशिष्ट किया गया हो या यज्ञशिष्ट न किया गया हो। इसी प्रकार चरक ने चिकित्सास्थान के १४वें अध्याय में कहा है—

निवृत्तामिषमद्यो यो हिताशी प्रयतः शुचिः।
निजागन्तुकरुन्मादैः सत्त्ववान् न स युज्यते ॥

जो मनुष्य मांस मद्य से निवृत्त है, हितकर भोजन करता है, जितेन्द्रिय है, पवित्र है, बलवान है उसे निज और आगन्तुक दोषों से उत्पन्न पागलपन का रोग नहीं होता। हिनाषी शब्द से स्पष्ट है कि मांस मद्य का सेवन अहितकर है।

कई सज्जन कहा करते हैं कि 'अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि' आदि वैदिक वाक्यों में मांस और चर्बी से हवन करने का स्पष्ट कथन है। परन्तु जो मनुष्य अन्य प्रकरणों के साथ इस वाक्य का विचार करते हैं तथा यज्ञ के यज्ञपने को समझते हैं वे अन्य ही परिणाम पर पहुँचते हैं। 'छाग्या इदं छागम् पयः' इस प्रकार अर्थ करने से छाग शब्द से उस वाक्य में पय (दूध) अर्थ लेते हैं। छाग शब्द पय के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त है जैसा कि चरक में अध्याय २५ में स्पष्ट किया है—

छागं कषाय मधुरं शीतं ग्राहि पयो लघु।
रक्तपित्तातिसारघ्नं क्षय कासज्वरापहम्॥

यहां पर छाग शब्द स्पष्ट पय के लिये प्रयुक्त है स्पष्ट करने के लिये पयः शब्द रख भी दिया है कि कोई कुछ दूसरा अर्थ न लेवे। अतः 'छाग्या इदं छागम् पयः' व्युत्पत्ति करके 'छागस्य हविषः' का अर्थ बकरी के दूध की हवि का ग्रहण करना उचित है। इसी प्रकार यज्ञ की भावना से भावित मनुष्य वपा शब्द का अर्थ भी उदरस्थ चरबी की मोटी तह नहीं ले सकता, किन्तु 'वपति छिनत्ति दोषमारोपयति च बलादिकमिति वपा दुग्धम्' इस प्रकार वपा शब्द से भी दुग्ध का ही ग्रहण

करता है। मेदस् शब्द ञिमिदा स्नेहने धातु के स्नेह अर्थ को प्रकट करता है। इससे यज्ञोपयोगी स्नेहद्रव्य आज्य (घी) का ग्रहण होता है। इस प्रकार इस वाक्य में बकरी का दूध गौ का दूध और घी के हवन करने का ही आदेश है—

भीष्म ने अपने अन्तिम काल में युधिष्ठिर को उपदेश दिया है कि हिंसा यज्ञ का अंग नहीं है—

तस्य तेनानुभावेन मृगहिंसात्मनस्तदा ।
तपो महत् समुच्छिन्नं तस्माद्धिंसा न यज्ञिया ॥
अहिंसा सकलो धर्मो हिंसाऽधर्मस्तथाविधः ।
सत्यन्तेऽहं प्रवक्ष्यामि यो धर्मः सत्यवादिनाम् ॥

महाराज युधिष्ठिर भीष्मपितामह से पूछते हैं कि धर्म तथा सुख के लिये यज्ञ कैसा करना चाहिए। उसके उत्तर में पितामह ने एक तपस्वी ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मणी दम्पती का वृत्तान्त देते हुए बतलाया है कि किस प्रकार उस तपस्वी ब्राह्मण का महान् तप, यज्ञ में पशु बलि देने के लिये एक वन्य मृग को मारने की इच्छा मात्र से विनष्ट हो गया। इसलिये यज्ञ में कभी हिंसा न करनी चाहिए।

किसी समय मनुष्य यज्ञ के साथ पशुवध का सम्बन्ध जोड़ कर मांस भक्षण की अपनी वासना को तृप्त कर लिया करते थे। परन्तु मन में उठते हुए ऐसे वेगों को रोकना चाहिए। यदि उठते हुए प्रत्येक वेग को पूर्ण होने के लिए खुला छोड़

किया जाय, दूसरों के साथ हमारे अच्छे सलूकों को तोड़ने वाले वेगों का भी यदि विरोध न किया जाय तो संसार में जीवन निर्वाह भी कठिन हो जाय सब एक दूसरे को भेड़िये के समान लगने लगे, मानो खाने के लिये पड़ रहे हों। वेगों को सर्वथा शिथिल छोड़ देने से मनुष्य की इच्छाशक्ति अर्थात् आत्मशक्ति इतनी निर्बल हो जावे कि मनुष्य एक कौड़ी का भी न रहे, बिलकुल निस्सत्व हो जावे। मनुष्य को जो कुछ बल प्राप्त होता है वह आत्म संयम से ही प्राप्त होता है, अपने आपको खुला छोड़ देने से नहीं। विषयों के काबू में न आने से किन्तु विषयों का काबू करने से, दुर्वासनाओं में न फसने से किन्तु दुर्वासनाओं को वश में करने से, दूसरों के मारने को छोड़ कर अपने मन को मारने से मनुष्य बलवान बनता है और इसके विपरीत अपने मन पर लगाम न डाल कर खुला छोड़ देने से तथा यज्ञ आदि के बहाने दूसरों की हत्या करने से मनुष्य बलवान नहीं निर्बल बनता है। इसलिये ऐसे वेगों को रोकने के लिये चरक ने लिखा है—

देह प्रवृत्तिर्या काचिद् वर्तते परपीडया।
स्त्रीभोगस्तेय हिंसाद्याः तस्या वेगान् विधारयेत् ॥

कि स्त्री भोग चोरी हिंसा आदि जो कोई परपीड़ा सम्बन्धी देह प्रवृत्ति है उसके वेगों को रोकना चाहिए, अर्थात् हिंसा आदि नहीं करनी चाहिए।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण काण्ड ३ अध्याय १ ब्राह्मण २ कण्डिका २१ में प्रकरण आया है कि दीक्षित पुरुष को शाला में ले जावे।

उसके लिये हिदायत दी है कि गाय बैल का अशन न करे। क्योंकि ये जानवर सब को धारण करते है भरण पोषण करते है। देवताओ ने तमाम जानवरो की ताकत गाय बैल मे भर द है। इसी कारण गाय बैल खूब खाते है। गाय बैल का खाने वाला मानो सर्वभोजी हो जाता है। गाय बैल ने सबको धारण कर रक्खा है। गाय बैल का खाना ऐसा है जैसे ऐसे मौके पर जब और कोई उपाय नही हो सकता अद्भुत रूप से (औपरेशन के द्वारा) उत्पन्न करने के लिये पत्नी के गर्भ को नष्ट कर डाला जाय, पाप कर डाला जाय। इसी प्रकार गाय बैल के अशन को ग्रहण करके प्राणियो के जीवन का हरण करना है। इस विषय मे याज्ञवल्क्य महाराज कहते है—मै तो गाय बैल का अशन अवश्य ग्रहण करू यदि वह असल अर्थात् बलोत्पादक हो।

इस प्रकरण मे अनेक लोग कहते है, गौ बैल के मांस खाने का निषेध है और याज्ञवल्क्य अपनी सम्मति प्रकट करते है कि मै तो जरूर ही खाऊ यदि बल मोटा ताजा हो। परन्तु प्रकरण पर अच्छी प्रकार दृष्टिपात करने से मांस निषेध का वा मास खाने का अर्थात् मांस विषय का कुछ भी सम्बन्ध यहा प्रतीत नही होता। गौ बैल का अशन न करे इस कथन से यह निकालना उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता कि गौ बैल के मास का अशन न करे। गौ बैल के अशन मे सिर्फ मास इसलिये नहीं लिया जा सकता क्योंकि गौ बैल से उत्पन्न होने वाला पदार्थ सिर्फ मास ही नही है प्रत्युत हड्डी, चर्बी, नस, नाड़ी, गोबर, मूत्र, दूध, दही, मक्खन, घी, रबड़ी, मावा, खीर आदि बहुत कुछ है।

गौ बैल के अशन से कौनसा पदार्थ लिया जाय यह विचार करते हुए जब हम पदार्थों के गुण दोष पर विचार करते हैं तो चरक विमानस्थान १०, ३ में पाते हैं कि पृषध्र यजमान ने यज्ञ में गोवध किया और गोमांस भक्षण से लोगों में अग्नि मान्द्य के कारण और तबियत गिर जाने के कारण अतिसार रोग चल पड़ा।

आदि काले खलु यज्ञेषु पशवः समालम्भनीया बभूवुर्नारम्भाय प्रक्रियन्ते स्म। अतश्च प्रत्यवरकालं पृषध्रेण दीर्घसत्रेण यजमानेन पशूनामलाभाद् गवामालम्भः प्रावर्तितः। तद्दृष्ट्वा प्रव्यथिता भूतगणास्तेषाञ्चोपयोगादुपकृतानां गवां गौरवादौपहत्याग्नीनामुपहत मनसामतीसारः पूर्वमुत्पन्नः पृषध्रयज्ञे। च. वि. स्था. १०. ३।

इस कारण यज्ञ में अथवा यज्ञ के बाहर मांस भक्षण तो सर्वथा ही अनुचित है। इसके अतिरिक्त दीक्षित के लिये तो शतपथ ६. २ में स्पष्ट तौर पर मांस भक्षण का निषेध कर दिया है कि दीक्षित मनुष्य न मांस खावे और न मैथुन करे। इन कर्मों के करने से दीक्षित होने का कुछ मतलब ही नहीं रहता।

न मांसमश्नीयात् न मिथुनमुपेयादिति। अनवक्लृप्त वै तद्दीक्षित उपरि शयीत यन्मांसमश्नीयाच्चन्मिथुनमुपेयादिति॥ श. प. ६. २॥

इस कारण दीक्षा के इस प्रकरण में मांसादि अभक्ष्य पदार्थों का ग्रहण नहीं किया जा सकता। गौ बैल के अन्य

पदार्थ दीक्षित खावे या न खावे केवल इतने का विचार रह जाता है। इस विषय में कई आचार्य तो गौ बैल के सभी भक्ष्य पदार्थों का निषेध करते हैं, परन्तु याज्ञवल्क्य अपने दृष्टान्त से कहते हैं कि जो असल अर्थात् बलोत्पादक पदाथ हो उसको खाने में कुछ आपत्ति नहीं है। दूध दही आदि बलोत्पादक मिष्ट पदार्थ खाये जा सकते हैं किन्तु मूत्रादि क्षारीय पदार्थ जो बलोत्पादक नहीं किन्तु शोधक है उनको खाना उचित नहीं है। इस कारण याज्ञवल्क्य के इस कथन से कि 'अश्नाम्येवाहमसलं चेद्भवति' य'द अंसल हो तो मैं अवश्य खाऊं, गौ बैल के मांस का भक्षण निकालना सर्वथा अनुचित है। अग्निहोत्र के सम्बन्ध में महर्षि याज्ञवल्क्य ने जनक के साथ संवाद करते हुए जिन २ द्रव्यों का कथन किया है उनमें मांस का जिक्र जरा भी नहीं किया। यदि वे मांस के प्रिय होते तथा उससे अग्निहोत्र में आहुति हो सकती है ऐसा समझते होते तो मांस का हवन करके अग्निहोत्र हो सकता है ऐसा अवश्य कहते, किन्तु उन्होंने अग्निहोत्र की अवश्य कर्तव्यता का रखते हुए सब द्रव्यों के अभाव में श्रद्धा में सत्य की आहुति करके ही अग्निहोत्र कर्म की खूबी को जतलाया है। अतः अग्निहोत्र में तथा अन्य यज्ञों में भी मांस आदि अभक्ष्य पदार्थों की आहुति नहीं है।

अथर्ववेद १०, ६, ३ में स्पष्ट ही कह दिया है कि देवों को दूध घी मधु का सर्वदा उपयोग करना चाहिए।

ये देवा दिविषदो अन्तरिक्षसदश्च ये चेमे भूम्यामधि।
तेभ्यस्त्वं धुक्ष्व सर्वदा क्षीरं सर्पि रथो मधु॥

इस प्रकार अनेक प्रमाणों से सिद्ध होता है कि यज्ञों में गाय के दूध घी आदि पदार्थों का तथा ओषधियों के परम रस मधु का उपयोग करना चाहिए मास, चर्बी का नहीं।

ओषधीना वा परमो रसो यन्मधु॥ श० ११, ५॥

अग्निहोत्रोपयोगी द्रव्यों के सम्बन्ध में स्वामी दयानन्द

स्वामी दयानन्द जी कहते है कि सुगन्धि, पुष्टिकारक, मधुर और रोगनाशक चार प्रकार के द्रव्यों को लेकर होम करे।

सुरभीणि सुपुष्टेश्च कारकाणि सितादिकम्।
द्रव्याण्यादाय जुहुयाच्चतुर्थं रोगनाशकम्॥

होमपद्धति प० गङ्गासहाय शर्मा द्वारा प्रकाशित।

१. सुगन्धित—कस्तूरी, केसर, अगर, तगर, श्वेतचन्दन, इलायची, जायफल, जावित्री, तुलसी, कपूर, कपूरकचरी, जटामासी (बालछड़), गूगल, धूप, छाल छड़ीला लौंग, नागरमोथा आदि।

२. पुष्टिकारक—घी, दूध, फल, कन्द, अन्न (चावल, गेहूं, उड़द, जौ)।

३. मिष्टपदार्थ—शक्कर, शहद, छुहारे, दाख आदि।

४. रोगनाशक—गिलोय आदि ओषधियां।

ऋतुओं के अनुसार होम द्रव्य

'होम पद्धति' से।

वसन्तऋतु में—

शैलेयतालीसपतङ्गद्राक्षालज्जालुकङ्कोलसिताश्चचीडाः।
दार्वीगुडूचीतगरागुर्वर्णकाश्मीरकालिङ्गपलङ्कषाश्च ॥१॥
लताकस्तूरिका शीतम गन्धकाष्ठन्तु पीतकम्।
चन्दन जातिपत्री च सरलो मालतीफलम ॥२॥
पौष्कर पद्मबीजानि कस्तूरी तिक्तदन्तिका।
मुस्तदारुसितास्फोटा मञ्जिष्ठा हैमदुग्धकी ॥३॥
त्वक्पत्रं शङ्खपुष्पीस्यात्कैरातोशीरगोक्षुराः।
खण्डकागोघृतंभक्तं संयावतु फलानि च ॥
शैव्यस्तु समिधो हव्ये वासन्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥४॥

छबीला, तालीमपत्र, पतङ्ग, मुनक्का लज्जावन्ती, शीतल चीनी, कपूर चीड, देवदारु, गिलोय, तगर, अगर, केसर, इन्द्र जौ, गूगल, लताकस्तूरी (मुश्क दाना), बरबर चन्दन, सर्व चन्दन, पीला चन्दन, जावित्री, सरल, जायफल पुष्करमूल, कमलगट्टा, कस्तूरी, बनकचूर, नागर मोथा, दालचीनी, विष्णु-कान्ता, मजीठ, गूलर की छाल, तेजपत्र, शंखपुष्पी, चिरायता, खस, गोखरू, खांड, गोघृत, भात, मोहनभोग, ऋतुफल, जाड की समिधा ये वसन्त ऋतु की सामग्री कही है।

ग्रीष्मऋतु में—

दैत्या विडङ्गघनसारप्रियालगुन्द्राः,
पीताभ वृद्धकतकानि शतावरी च।

सेव्याऽमृता सरलदारुमिते लवंगम,
कस्तूरिका सुरभि बर्हिणमूर्जपत्राः ॥१॥
भक्त पतंगैश्च पवित्रमूले तालीसरःजीवपचम्पचाश्च।
रक्तागु कालाकपि तैलकानि बाह्लीक मासी जल चन्द्र बालाः॥२॥
खण्डिका समिधः शैव्यो गोघृत श्वेतचन्दनम्।
वेदचन्दनमोद्गानि सुकडीरार्तव फलम् ॥
सुलेमान्यामलके प्रोक्ते उन्नावारव्यन्तथाऽमके ॥३॥

मुरा वायविडङ्ग, कपूर, चिरौंजी, नागर मोथा, पीला चन्दन, छड़ीला, निर्मली, शतावर, खस, गिलोय, धूपसरल, दालचीनी, लौंग, कस्तूरी, बरबर चन्दन कालातगर, भोजपत्र, भात, पतगकाष्ठ, कुशामूल, तालीसपत्र, पद्माख, दारुहल्दी, रक्तचन्दन, मजीठ, शिलारस, केसर, जटामांसी, नेत्रबाला, बड़ी इलायची, खाड, शमी की समिधा, गोघृत, श्वेत चन्दन, वेद चन्दन, मूंग के लड्डू, सुकडि चन्दन, ऋतुफल, पिण्डखजूर, आमले, उन्नाव, यह ग्रीष्मऋतु को सामग्री है।

वर्षा ऋतु में—

प्रवग सार मगल्या यवाः सुरभिदारुकः।
तगर भद्रदारुस्याद्वे धूपश्च छिक्कनी ॥१॥
रालो जातीफलं मुण्डी नारिकेलस्तु निर्मली।
कस्तूरी पद्मबीजाभ तजपत्रहिमाशवः ॥२॥
वनजा बिल्व सूक्ष्मैला मांसीछिन्नरुहा वचा।
शौरी बीजं विडंगश्च पद्मनाल तथा मधु ॥३॥
शीततुं फलचाम्पेय शस्यपुष्पस्तु कुङ्कुमम्।
ब्राह्मी किराततिक्तश्च माषमोदक दौदिवि ॥४॥

खर्जूरो गिरिकर्णी स्यात् पिच्छा गोघृत खण्डिका ।
पालाश्यः समिधः प्रोक्ता वर्षासु कालभेदतः ॥५॥

काला अगर, पीला अगर, चीड़, जौ, धूपसरल, तगर, देवदारु गूगल, नकछिकनं, राल, जायफल, मुण्डी, नारियल, निर्मली, कस्तूरी, मखाने, तजपत्र, कपूर, वनकचूर, बेलगिरी, छोटी इलायची, जटामासी, गिलोय, वच, तुलसी के बीज, वाय-विडङ्ग, कमलडण्डी, शहद, श्वेतचन्दन चूरा, ऋतुफल, नाग केसर, शंखपुष्पी, केसर, ब्राह्मी, चिरायता, उड़द के लड्डू, भात, छुहारे, विष्णुक्रान्ता, मोचरस, गोघृत, खांड ढाक की समिधा यह वर्षा ऋतु की सामग्री है ।

शरद् ऋतु में—

श्वेतचन्दनकालीयं रक्तचन्दनगुग्गुलू ।
नागकेशरघृष्टीके तन्त्रिकोदुम्बरत्वचा ॥१॥
विदारीसन्नकद्रूदौ ब्राह्मीदारुसितामुरा ।
पिच्छापर्पटलाह्यानि पद्मेन्द्रयवरेणुका ॥२॥
हारहूराश्वगन्धाच कोलक मालतीफलम् ।
तमालपत्रकैरातकुङ्कुमतुंफला न च ॥३॥
कस्तूरी सहदेवी स्याद् द्राक्षाऽब्जीजा तु खण्डिका ।
जटिला विष्णुक्रान्ता च हिमकाकेक्षगोघृतम् ॥४॥
पालाश्यः पायस लाजा शरद्यथ चतुर्थके ॥५॥

सफेद चन्दन, पीला चन्दन, रक्तचन्दन, गूगल, नागकेसर, बड़ी इलायची गिलोय, गूलर की छाल, विदारीकन्द, चिरौंजी, ब्राह्मी, दालचीनी कपूरकचरी, मोचरस, पित्तपापड़ा, अगर,

भारंगी, इन्द्रजौ, रेणुका, मुनक्का, असगन्ध, शीतल चीनी, जायफल, पत्रज, चिरायता, केसर, ऋतुफल, कस्तूरी, सहदेवी, किशमिश, खांड, जटामासी, विष्णुकान्ता, कपूर, तालमखाना, गोघृत, ढाक की लकड़ी, धान की खील- खीर। ये शरद् ऋतु मे सामग्री विहित है।

हेमन्त ऋतु मे—

उत्पलं मुराल गन्धकोकिलावटतिक्तकाः ।
सिताभ्रदैत्याश्वधूगुडूची पटोलपत्राणि गुड त्वचा च ।
पद्मा शताह्वा खलु हारहूरा कस्तूरिका गन्धवधूर्जटायुः ॥१॥
श्रृङ्गाटराल्नामधुपुष्कराणि काश्मीरतालीसुरकाल्मगुमाः ।
मकण्टका छिन्नरुहा जनी च वातातमज्जा मधुकन्तुदार्वी ॥२॥
कृष्णास्तिला जातिपत्री धात्रीपत्रञ्च रेणुका ।
लताकस्तूरिकारक्तमारचूर्णन्तु गोघृतम् ॥३॥
कृशराऽलवणा प्रोक्ता नारिकेलफलानि च ।
हेमन्ते समिधश्चैत्यः खदिरस्याथवा मताः ॥४॥

कूट, मुमली, गन्धकोकिला, घुड़बच्छ, पित्तपापड़ा, कपूर, कपूरकचरी, नकछिकनी, गिलोय, पटोलपत्र, दालचीनी, भारगी, सौंफ मुनक्का, कस्तूरी, चीड़, गूगल, अखरोट, रास्ना, शहद, पुष्करमूल, केसर, छुहारे गोखरू, कौंच के बीज, कांटेदार गिलोय, पपंटी, बादाम की गिरी, मुलहठी, देवदारु, काले तिल, जावित्री, तालीसपत्र, रेणुका, मुश्कबाला, लाल चन्दन का चूरा, गोघृत, बिना नमक की खिचड़ी, गोला, आम, खैर की समिधा। यह सामग्री हेमन्त ऋतु मे मानी गई है।

शिशिर ऋतु में—

अक्षोटकचूरविडङ्गरालाः तपोधना मोचरसोऽमृता च।
द्राक्षाद्विजाकृष्णतिला वराङ्ग कस्तूरिका कुङ्कुमचन्दनानि ॥१॥
किराततिक्तः खर्जूरः तुलसीबीजगुग्गुलू।
चारुकर्कटशृङ्गी च खण्डिका च शतावरी ॥२॥
दारुहरिद्रा मागल्य कुसुमा पद्मकन्तथा।
कृष्णबीजश्च जटिला भूजपत्रश्च गोघृतम् ॥३॥
यज्ञाप्रथो ह्यथवा वाट्यः संभावः शिशिरे मतः।
एवमृतुषु द्रव्यस्यात्कालभेदात् पृथक् पृथक् ॥४॥

अखरोट, कचूर, वायविडङ्ग, राल, मुण्डी, मोचरस, गिलोय, मुनक्का, रेणुका, कृष्णातिल, तज, कस्तूरी केसर, चन्दन; चिरायता, छुहारे, तुलसी के बीज, गूगल, चिरौंजी, काकड़ा सींगी, खांड, शतावर, दारुहल्दी, शंखपुष्पी, पद्माख, कौंच के बीज, जटामांसी, भोजपत्र, गोघृत, गूलर वा बड़ की समिधा, मोहनभोग। यह सामग्री शिशिर ऋतु के योग्य है।

चार प्रकार के द्रव्यों की विशेषता

(सत्कार चन्द्रिका से)

सुगन्धित द्रव्य—

१. एक समय जब कि मदरास में प्लेग फैल रहा था तो डाक्टर किंग आई. एम. एस. ने हिन्दू विद्यार्थियों को उपदेश दिया था कि यदि तुम घी और केसर से हवन करो तो महामारी का नाश हो सकता है।

२ अगर तगर के विषय में कुछ वर्ष हुए कि सिविल एण्ड मिलिटरी गजट लाहौर से बंगाल के एक अंगरेज विद्वान के लेख निकलते थे जिनमें उसने दर्शाया था कि अगर तगर की सुगन्धि से कई प्रकार के विषैले छोटे २ जन्तु वायु में रहने वाले दूर भाग जाते हैं।

३. श्वेत चन्दन का तेल निकाल कर सूजाक तथा आतशक जैसे भयङ्कर रोग में उसके विष का निवारण करने के लिये अमरीका के कई डाक्टर तथा भारत के वैद्यादि उपयोग करते हैं। इसी प्रकार जटामासी, जायफल, जावित्री, कपूरादि जहां सुगन्धित द्रव्य हैं वहां इनका धूम वायु को शुद्ध करता है।

४. बम्बई के प्रसिद्ध मासिक पत्र सत्य में तुलसी के मलेरिया नाशक होने के विषय में एक उत्तम लेख निकला है जिसमें दिखलाया गया है कि—कई वर्ष हुए बम्बई में एंग्लो इण्डियन अधिकारी सरजार्ज बर्डवुड ने टाइम्स में एक पत्र लिख कर प्रकट किया था कि जब बम्बई में विक्टोरिया बाग तथा एलबर्ट संग्रहालय बनाया गया तब मजदूर लोगों का मलेरिया ताप आने लगा। जब बाग के चारों तरफ तुलसी बोने में आई तब शीघ्र ही मलेरिया नष्ट हो गया।

५. पढरपुर में विठोबा के मन्दिर के आस-पास की जगह की आरोग्यता का कारण यही है कि उसके चारों तरफ तुलसी का जङ्गल है। 'सत्य' मासिक पत्र जिल्द १ अङ्क ४।

पुष्टिकारक द्रव्य—

६. फल, कन्द, अन्न (चावल, गेहूं, उड़द, जौ), सुग

न्धित पदार्थ यदि बिना घृत मिलाये अग्नि में जलाये जावें तो उनकी सुगन्धि में तीव्रता और रूखापन अधिक रहने से जुकाम (प्रतिश्याय) आदि रोग उत्पन्न हो सकते हैं। जिस समय सुगन्धित पदार्थ घृत से मिला हुआ जलाया जाता है उस समय जुकाम आदि किसी प्रकार के रोग का भय नहीं रहता और सुगन्धि की तीव्रता मर्यादा में आ जाती है। इसलिये शास्त्रों की आज्ञा है कि सामग्री बिना घृत के मिलाये हवन कुण्ड में न डाली जाय।

७. घी का एक अपूर्व गुण यह है कि यह विषनाशक पदार्थ है जैसा कि सुश्रुत में लिखा है।

८ प्लेग का टीका निकालने वाले डा० हैफकिन का वचन है कि 'घी विषनाशक पदार्थ है यह हमने अनुभव किया है।

६. घी अग्नि को प्रदीप्त करता है। घी में अग्नि के प्रदीप्त करने की जो शक्ति है वह सब जानते ही हैं। अग्नि जब तक प्रज्वलित न किया जाय तब तक रोग निवृत्ति का पूर्ण साधन नहीं बन सकता। अग्नि को प्रज्वलित करना घी से ही उचित है अन्य तेल आदि पदार्थों से नहीं।

१० घी के अणु वर्षा बरसाने के अपूर्व साधन हैं। पानी और घी सर्दी से जम जाते हैं और गर्मी से पिघलते हैं। परन्तु पानी से बढ़ कर घी में सर्दी से जम जाने का गुण अधिक है। सर्दी के दिनों में जब पानी नहीं जमता तब घी जम जाता है। अग्निहोत्र में जब घी के अणु सूक्ष्म होकर ऊपर चढ़ते हैं तो वायु में डोलने वाले बादलों के तल के पास ही पहुँच कर स्वयं

जम जाने से उनको जमाने और बरसाने का काम देते है। पश्चिम के वैज्ञानिक भी कहते है कि बादलों के नीचे भाग में यदि कृत्रिम रीति से सर्दी पहुंचाई जा सके तो बादल बरस सकता है। इसके लिये वे कई प्रकार के पदार्थ उपयोग में लाते हैं किन्तु बादलों के निचले भाग में ठण्ड की जामन लगाने का गुण घी में अधिक है, इसलिये विशेष मात्रा में घी का हवन करने से वर्षा होने में सहायता हो सकती है। दूसरा विशेष गुण घी के हवन करने का यह है कि घी की विषनाशक शक्ति का जलों में आधान होता है।

११. घी, दूध, फल, कन्द, चावल, गेहूं, उड़द, जौ आदि अन्न केला, नासपाती, सेब, नारियल, नारियल का घृत, शकर कन्दी, ये सब पुष्टिकारक पदार्थ हैं। इनके जलाने से इनके अणु वायु में फैल कर श्वास के द्वारा फेफड़ों में जाते हैं। फेफड़ों में जाकर सूक्ष्म मात्रा में ही खून के अणुओं में जज्ब हो जाते है और शरीर को पुष्ट करते हैं तथा अनेक प्रकार के रोगों की निवृत्ति करते हैं। वायु में सूक्ष्म रूप से फैले हुए ये पदार्थ ओस और वृष्टि के द्वारा भूमि में समा कर भूमि को उपजाऊ बनाते हैं।

मिष्टद्रव्य—

१२. शक्कर, शहद, छुहारे, दाख आदि पदार्थों में मिठास होता है। शक्कर, गुड़, खांड, मिश्री के जलने से मन्द २ सुगन्धि आती है, परन्तु जब इनके साथ घी भी जलता है तो वह गन्ध रोचक और उत्तम प्रकार की हो जाती है।

अमरीका के एक मासिक पत्र में एक विद्वान् ने लिखा था कि आग में शक्कर के जलाने से 'हे फीवर' (घास आदि के सड़ने से उत्पन्न हवा के लगने से उत्पन्न हुआ बुखार का नाश होता है।

रोगनाशक द्रव्य—

१३. गिलोय भारतवर्ष में प्रसिद्ध है। यह ज्वर के विष को नाश करती है और शरीर को आरोग्य प्रदान करती है। गिलोय का नाम ही अमृता है जिसका अर्थ है रोग दूर करके जीवन प्रदान करने वाली। इसी प्रकार भिन्न २ रोगों के अनुसार अन्य रोगनाशक द्रव्यों को भी हवन के उपयोग में लाया जा सकता है।

१४. बड़ौदा राज्य के सरकारी गजट में राज्य के सुयोग्य डाक्टरों की सम्मति द्वारा नीम के पत्तों की धूनी के लाभों पर प्रजा का ध्यान दिलाया गया है। इसकी धूनी रोग तथा मच्छर आदि को दूर करने वाली है। हवन में इसके पत्ते प्रायः इसलिये नहीं डालते कि इसका धुआं कड़वा होता है।

अग्निहोत्र से स्वास्थ्य लाभ

कई सज्जन कहा करते हैं कि हवन करने से कर्बनिकाम्ल गैस उत्पन्न होती है जो जीवन के लिये हानिकारक है अतः हवन नहीं करना चाहिए। परन्तु ये लोग भूल में है। वैज्ञानिकों ने परीक्षण करके सिद्ध किया है कि अग्नि में हवन के योग्य चार प्रकार के द्रव्य मिलाकर जलाने से कर्बनिकाम्ल गैस उत्पन्न नहीं होती, जो गैस उत्पन्न होती है उसका नाम वुडगैस है।

वुड गैस हानिकारक नही है कर्बानिकाम्ल गैस हानिकारक है। वुड गैस का साधारण भाषा मे हवनगैस कहते हैं।

प्रा० रामशरणदास जी सक्सेना एम एस. सी. ने काच की १२ शीशियो को वैज्ञानिक रीति से नितान्त शुद्ध कर लिया। इन शीशियो मे से दो दो शीशियो मे दूध मास आदि छ: वस्तुए भरी गई। छः शीशिया एक ओर कर ली गई और दूसरी छ: शीशिया दूसरी ओर। एक ओर वाली छ शीशियो मे वैज्ञानिक रीति से हवन गैस पहुचाई गई और दूसरी ओर की छ: शीशियो में उद्यान की शुद्ध वायु भर दी गई। शीशिया बन्द करके रख दी और नित्य प्रति उनका निरीक्षण करते रहे। जिन शीशियो मे उद्यान वायु थी उनमे सड़ाव शीघ्र आरम्भ हुआ और शीघ्रतापूर्वक बढ़ रहा था। इसके प्रतिकूल जिन शीशियो मे हवन गैस पहुचाई गई थी उनमे सड़ाव देर से आरम्भ हुआ और शनैः २ बढ़ रहा था। इससे स्पष्ट हुआ कि हवन गैस शुद्ध आषाजनयुक्त उद्यान की वायु की अपेक्षा भी सड़ाव को अधिक रोकती है।

किसी औषधि की शक्ति को बढ़ाने के लिये आयुर्वेद में घोटने का नियम है। एक औषधि साधारणतया पिसी हुई एक माशा जो प्रभाव करेगी वह ही औषधि खरल मे एक सप्ताह तक बराबर घोटने से इतनी शक्तिशाली हो जावेगी कि उसकी दो रत्ती की मात्रा ही पहिली की अपेक्षा अधिक प्रभाव दिखलावेगी। इसी प्रकार होमियोपैथी मे भी औषधियों की पोटैन्सी तैयार की जाती है। औषधि का जितना सूक्ष्म भाग दुग्ध शर्करा

अथवा खिरल में घोटने वा झटका देने से तैयार किया जावेगा उतनी ही अधिक उसकी शक्ति बढ़ जावेगी। इस ढङ्ग से औषधि की भीतरी गुप्त शक्ति उभर आती है। होमियोपैथी की दवा की ऊंची पोटैन्सी की एक मात्रा कई २ मास तक अपना प्रभाव दिखलाती है, जब कि उसी औषधि की नीची पोटैन्सी, जिसकी भीतरी शक्ति कम उभारी गई है, कुछ ही घंटों में अपना प्रभाव समाप्त कर देती है।

भोजन को खूब चबाने से भोजन की गुप्त प्राण शक्ति उभर आती है, जिससे थोड़ा भोजन भी अधिक बलकारी होता है और मल कम बनता है। बिना चबाया हुआ भोजन अधिक मात्रा में खाया हुआ भी, अधिक चबाये हुए की अपेक्षा कम बल देता है। प्रत्येक औषधि के ठोस अवयव फैलाने से वह अधिक शक्तिशाली हो जाती है। औषधि को सूक्ष्म करने का— उसके अवयवों को फैलाने का सबसे उत्तम साधन अग्नि है। वर्षों तक औषधि खरल की जावे फिर भी उसके परमाणु उतने नहीं फैल सकते। जितने अग्नि में जलाने में फैल सकते है। आप एक मिर्च को अकेले खा सकते हैं। यदि आप उसे खरल में घोटना आरम्भ करदें तो दो चार मनुष्यों पर प्रभाव पड़ेगा, किन्तु यदि आप उसे अग्नि में जलावें तो पचासों मनुष्यों का वहां बैठना कठिन हो जावेगा। इससे सिद्ध है कि अग्नि में जलाने में जितने परमाणु फैल सकते है किसी अन्य तरीके से नहीं फैल सकते। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हवन के द्वारा चिकित्सा का कार्य किया जावे तो औषधि की शक्ति सहस्रों गुणा अधिक होकर रोगी को लाभ पहुँचावे।

हम लोग फुफ्फुस देखने का यन्त्र (स्टेथस्कोप) जब किसी स्वस्थ कुमार की छाती पर लगाते हैं तो भीतर जाने वाले श्वास का लम्बान बाहर निकलने वाले श्वास की अपेक्षा तीन गुणा अधिक सुनाई देता है। इसका अभिप्राय यह है कि आय अधिक और व्यय न्यून है, किन्तु तपेदिक के रोगी का लम्बान इसके प्रतिकूल होता है। तपेदिक के रोगी में भीतर जाने वाले श्वास का लम्बान कम और बाहिर आने वाले श्वास का अधिक। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि तपेदिक के रोगी में आय कम और व्यय अधिक है तभी इस रोग का नाम क्षय रोग है।

चिकित्सक का यह प्रयत्न होता है कि उसका रोगी अधिक से अधिक खावे जिससे कि उसके शरीर में अधिक रक्त बने और उसका बोझ बढ़े। परन्तु रोगी में पचाने की शक्ति कहां? ओषजन की न्यूनता से मन्दाग्नि रहने पर न खाने की इच्छा और न पचाने का बल। कोई बलदायक औषधि वा भोजन दिया जाता है तो कभी तो पच जाता है और कभी दस्त आ जाते हैं। यह उसे रोगी के लिये मृत्यु की सूचना समझो।

अनुभवी से अनुभवी चिकित्सक पाचन शक्ति का बिलकुल ठीक अनुमान लगाने में भूल कर सकता है, किन्तु हवन चिकित्सा द्वारा आप पौष्टिक से पौष्टिक भोजन—बादाम, मोहन भोग, खीर, मुनक्का, शतावर आदि—अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में रोगी के शरीर में वैज्ञानिक रीति से पहुंचा सकते हैं। उन वस्तुओं का सार भाग ही रोगी के भीतर पहुँचेगा जो अग्नि से पहिले ही हलका कर दिया है, अतः उससे पाचन

शक्ति पर तो बोझ न पड़ेगा। किन्तु श्वासमार्ग के द्वारा रक्त मे सूक्ष्म रूप मे सीधा पहुँच जाने से रक्त बलवान बनेगा। इस मे विशेषता यह रहेगी कि शरीर की ताकत के अनुसार उचित मात्रा मे ही पदार्थ शरीर के अन्दर जावेगा। आप चाहे सारे वायु मण्डल को हवन गैस से भर दीजिए किन्तु रोगी उसमे से उतना ही भाग ग्रहण करेगा जितने भाग की उसे आवश्यकता है। उद्यान की वायु मे ओषजन भरा होता है। परिमाण से अधिक ओषजन मनुष्य को भारी हानि पहुँचा सकता है, किन्तु क्या कभी किसी मनुष्य का उद्यान मे घूमने से शरीर मे ओषजन अधिक पहुँच जाने के कारण हानि होने की शिकायत सुनी है? कारण यह कि परमात्मा ने प्रकृति के भीतर एसा प्रबन्ध कर दिया है कि मनुष्य आवश्यकता से अधिक ओषजन ग्रहण ही नही कर सकता। इसी प्रकार हवन गैस मे से भी रोगी अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार उचित मात्रा मे ही पदार्थों का ग्रहण कर सकता है, अनुचित मात्रा मे नही। अत: हवन चिकित्सा की अपेक्षा अधिक कोई अन्य चिकित्सा क्षय रोग की नाशक नही हो सकती।

जिस प्रकार होमियोपैथिक चिकित्सा मे समूल औषधि स्प्रिट मे गलाई जाती है—कोई भाग फेका नही जाता, इसी प्रकार हवन चिकित्सा मे भी औषधि अपने पञ्चाग रूप मे पूरा काम मे आती है। इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र हवन चिकित्सा के रूप मे रोगो को निवृत्त करके मनुष्यो के स्वास्थ्य लाभ के लिये अत्युपयोगी कर्म है।

इसी स्वास्थ्य लाभ के प्रयोजन को ध्यान मे रखकर

ऋतुसन्धियो मे चातुर्मास्य यज्ञ किये जाते है। ऋतुसन्धियों मे रोग फैला करते है।

ऋतुसन्धिषु रोगाः जायन्ते।

मुख्य ऋतु तीन है सर्दी गर्मी वर्षा। इस प्रकार प्रत्येक चार मास मे जलवायु वृष्टि की शुद्धि द्वारा रोगनिवृत्ति के लिये चातुर्मास्य यज्ञ किये जाते है। इस प्रकार कार्तिक, फाल्गुन, आषाढ ये तीन महीने रोगनिवृत्ति के लिये बृहद्रूप मे अग्निहोत्र करने के लिये उत्तम होते है। अहोरात्र की सन्धि मे किये जाने वाले हवन को अग्निहोत्र कह देते है किन्तु ऋतुसन्धियो मे किये जाने वाले विशेष अग्निहोत्र को अग्निहोत्र न कहकर चातुर्मास्य कह देते है। इसी प्रकार संवत्सर की दो बडी सन्धियो मे जब कि दक्षिणायन और उत्तरायण का आरम्भ होता है आग्रयणेष्टि की जाती है चन्द्रमा के हिसाब से प्रत्येक मास मे दो बडी सन्धियाँ पूर्णमासी की और अमावस्या की आती है इन सन्धियों मे पौर्णमासेष्टि और दर्शेष्टि की जाती है। ये सब इष्टियाँ सन्धियों मे ही की जाती है और अग्निहोत्र का ही विशेष २ रूप है अग्निहोत्र सब यज्ञो का मुख है - सब यज्ञो को प्रकट करता है। इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र के स्वास्थ्यजनक रूप को समझते हुए हमे प्रति सन्धि मे अग्निहोत्र से लाभ उठाना चाहिए।

हवन की उपयोगिता मेंमद्रास के

कामभ्रर की साची सैनिटरी

आर्य लोग जो हवन की आवश्यकता दर्शाते है वहाँ

पर एक प्रमाण यह भी देते हैं कि प्राणियों के मलमूत्र से दुर्गन्धि उठकर वायु को अशुद्ध कर देती है। उस दुर्गन्धि को आग से दूर करने और आग के द्वारा सुगन्धि फैलाने के लिये जो कार्य किया जाता है वही हवनयज्ञ है। अंग्रेजी पुस्तक 'ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग' पायोनियर प्रेस, प्रयाग से निकली है उसमें लिखा है कि २८ मार्च सन १८९८ को मद्रास यूनिवर्सिटी के ग्रैजुएट विद्यार्थियों को जनरल किंग आई. एम एस. सैनिटरी कमिश्नर मद्रास ने एक उपदेश दिया था उसका सारांश हेनकिन महाशय ने 'ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग' नामी पुस्तक में उनके ही शब्दों में लिखा है। इस पुस्तक के पृष्ठ ?२ पर लिखा है कि महाशय कमिश्नर ने भगवती पुराण (देवी भागवत) का वर्णन करते हुए बतलाया है कि उसमें महामारी का वर्णन है--रोग की दशा में चूहों के गिरने का वर्णन है—और उसके दूर करने के लिये घी, चावल, केसर आदि के हवन का विधान है जिस को 'शान्ति होम' नाम से पुकारा है। इसी प्रकार अन्य कई बातें जैसे धूप बत्ती का जलाना आदि भी लिखा है। उस पुराण के हवन की रीति को वर्णन करते हुए पुस्तक निर्माता ने प्रकट किया है कि हवन की वर्तमान रीति मैडिकल साइन्स के अनुकूल है और लिखा है कि हवन करना लाभदायक और बुद्धिमानी की बात है। इस पुस्तक की भूमिका डब्ल्यू. एम. हैफकिन महाशय बम्बई वाले ने लिखी है। इस पुस्तक के पढ़ने से यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि फ्रांस देश में रूकस महाशय ने जो टीका प्लेग का सादा निर्मित किया था वह अत्यन्त विषैला था, हैफकिन महाशय ने घी में मिलाने से उसका विष दूर कर

दिया है। इस मे सुश्रुत के कथन की साक्षी भी डा० हैफकिन की परीक्षा के साथ मिल गयी है कि घी विषनाषक है।

सृष्टि में यह अद्भुत नियम है कि कार्बन डाई आक्साईड (अपान वायु) स्वच्छ वायु के साथ मिला हो तो बीमारी अथवा दोष का कारण नही होता। जब वह दुर्गन्धि अथवा सड़ाद के साथ मिला होता है तो उस समय दोष उत्पन्न करता है। महाशय जे० लैन० नाटर, एम० ए०, एम० डी०, आर० एच० फर्थ०, एफ० आर० सी० एस० हाईजीन' मे लिखते है कि बहुत काल तक ऐसी कोठरियों मे ठहरे रहना जिनमे बहुत से आदमी हों अथवा खिड़कियां पर्याप्त न हों जिन के वायु विशेष दोष युक्त हो उनमे कार्बोनिक एसिड गैस (अपान वायु) अधिक परिमाण में रहता है। जिन स्थानों मे शिर पीड़ा, मूर्छा, चकराना आदि रोग उत्पन्न हो जाते है उनका कारण गरमी अथवा कार्बन डाइऔक्साइड गैस नही है। ये दोष वास्तव मे वायु के अन्दर औक्सीजन या प्राणवायु के न्यून हो जाने से तथा मनुष्यादि प्राणियों के उन मलिन अणुओ के वायु मे भर जाने से उत्पन्न होते है जो अणु फेफड़ों वा त्वचा द्वारा निकलते है। ऐसी वायु का दम लेने से, जिसमे मलिन अणु मिले हुए हो भारीपन, आलस्य शिर' पीड़ा आदि रोग उत्पन्न होते है। पशुओ पर जो प्रयोग किये गये उनमे बाष्प और कार्बन डाई औक्साइड को वायु से पृथक् कर लिया गया तो प्रतीत हुआ कि मलिन अणुओं से युक्त वायु बड़ा विषमय है। इस वायु मे चूहा ४५ मिनट मे मर गया।"

इस प्रकार सिद्ध होता है कि कार्बन डाई औक्साइड

से भी बढ़कर हानिकारक मलिनता के अणु हुआ करते हैं। इन अणुओं को हल्का कर के दूर २ तक भगा देने में हवन करने अथवा अग्नि के जलाने के सिवाय और कोई उत्तम साधन नहीं है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में बतलाया गया है कि अग्नि के जलाने से जीवन के नाश करने वाले राक्षस (वायु में विद्यमान सूक्ष्म कृमि और मलिन अणु) नष्ट हो जाते हैं।

अग्निर्वै रक्षसामपहन्ता।

प्राणवायु का घना रूप ओज़ोन होता है। ओज़ोन प्रायः अपनी विशेष सुगन्ध के कारण पहिचानी जाती है, जिसका अनुभव समुद्र के किनारे प्रायः होता है। उपवन की खुली हवा में भी यह मिलती है। कार्बनिक अम्ल गैस (अपान वायु) जीवन और अग्नि का विघातक है परन्तु ऑक्सीजन (प्राण वायु) और ओज़ोन जीवन और अग्नि का पोषक है। स्वच्छ वायु के १००० भागों में चार भाग कार्बनिक अम्ल गैस के सदैव पाये जाते हैं। ग्रामों की खुली हवा में और पहाड़ियों की चोटियों पर हज़ार भाग वायु में प्रायः तीन भाग ही कार्बनिक अम्ल गैस मिलता है। जब तक वायु के हज़ार भागों में चार भागों से अधिक यह गैस न हो जाय तब तक यह वायु को विषयुक्त नहीं बनाता। लंडन की गलियों में वायु के हज़ार भाग में ३६ भाग इस गैस के पाये जाते हैं। अग्नि में सुगन्धित द्रव्य जलाने से अग्नि के द्वारा कार्बनिक अम्ल गैस वायु में एक स्थान में संचित नहीं होने पाता, मलिन अणुओं के छिन्न-भिन्न हो जाने से वायु निर्मल हो जाता है तथा सुगन्धित

पदार्थों के गन्ध के अणुओं से ऑक्सीजन उसी प्रकार ओज़ोन में बदलता है जिस प्रकार उपवन की निर्मल वायु में भिन्न २ प्रकार की वानस्पतिक गन्धों के प्रभाव से ऑक्साजन ओज़ोन में बदलता है। इस प्रकार अग्निहोत्र के द्वारा वायु निर्मल होता है और प्राणवायु घनीभूत होता है। डा० लैन० नाटर हाइजीन में लिखते है कि 'ऑक्साजन की एक बदली हुई दशा जो कि वायु मण्डल में थोड़ी थोड़ी पाई जाती है उसका नाम ओज़ोन है। यह बड़ी उपयोगी गैस है एक प्रकार की तीव्र ऑक्सीजन है। निर्मल वायु में यह बहुत अधिक पाई जाती है। उन स्थानों में जहां पर मनुष्य अथवा पशुओं की मलिनता के अणु बहुत हो वहां यह अत्यन्त न्यून पाई जाता है। जहां पर मनुष्य अथवा पशु बहुत बसे हुए है वहां भी कम होता है। जब कभी वायु में बिजली का प्रसार हो तब ओज़ोन पैदा हो जाता है। यहां ओज़ोन अग्नि की क्रिया से साधारण ऑक्सीजन के रूप में बदल जाता है। ओज़ोन की पहचान उसकी गन्ध है जो कि बहुत ही तीक्ष्ण होती है। यदि वायु के पचीस लाख भाग हों और उसमें ओज़ोन का एक ही भाग हो तो फिर भी उसकी उपस्थिति प्रकट हो सकती है। जङ्गल के खुले वायु में और समुद्र के वायु में उसकी तीव्रता विशेष प्रतीत होती है।

कर्बनिकाम्ल गैस के विषय में डा० नाटर हाईजीन में लिखते है कि "कर्बनिकाम्ल गैस सहस्र भागों में ७५ भाग पाया जावे तो उस समय यह विषरूप हो जाता है। जब वायु के सहस्र भाग पीछे इसके १५ भाग हो तो शिरःपीड़ा, मूर्छा, सिर चकराना, श्वास उखड़ने की बीमारियां पैदा हो जाती है।

जब प्रति सहस्र १० भागों तक पाया जावे तब स्वास्थ्य पर कोई विशेष दुष्प्रभाव नहीं दिखाता। जब बहुत परिमाण मे हो तब मूर्छा रोग उत्पन्न कर देता है। हम सब इस दुर्गन्धित वायु को जानते है जो बिना खिड़कियों के कमरों वा उन कोठरियों से आती है जिन मे बहुत से मनुष्य तङ्ग हुए बैठे रहते है। जब यह कर्बनिकाम्ल गैस सहस्र भाग पीछे छः दशमलव के परिमाण मे हो तो इस के होने का पता तक नहीं लगता, क्योंकि इतना परिमाण वायु के साथ मिलकर प्रतीत होने वाली दुर्गन्धि नहीं बनती इतने परिमाण का होना आवश्यकीय है। यह परिमाण हानिकारक नहीं। जब कर्बनिकाम्ल इस परिमाण से बढ़ जाता है तब साथ के मलिन अणु जो हवा मे होते है प्रतीत होने लगते है।"

हवन करना विज्ञान सम्मत है। दि इण्डियन रिव्यू के अप्रैल १९१२ के अङ्क २६५ पर 'होम की सफलता' विषय पर लेख प्रकाशित हुआ था। उसका हिन्दी अनुवाद सत्कार चन्द्रिका से यहां लिखते है—

"एक विद्वत्तापूर्ण 'अनिश्चित ज्ञान और पदार्थ विज्ञान' सम्बन्धी लेख ६ सितम्बर के पायोनियर मे मुख्य भाग मे निकला है उसमे निम्नलिखित वचन है—

यह सिद्धान्त कि सार्वजनिक स्थानों में अग्नि जलाने से जन विध्वंस कारक रोग शमन होते है ऐसा सिद्धान्त था कि जिसकी नींव साधारण अनिश्चित अवलोकन पर थी। इस का सम्बन्ध मानवीय उन्नति सम्बन्धी एक बड़े प्रसिद्ध आविष्कार से था कि धूनी देने से प्राणियों के शारीरिक पदार्थ विकार

पाने से रुकते हैं। यह सर्वथा अकस्मात् आविष्कार हुआ केवल हमारे समय में तथा पश्चिम में धैर्यशील प्रयोग से यह बात निश्चित हुई कि धूम का प्रभाव रोगनाशक है, अथवा यूं कहो कि लकड़ी के धूम में कुछ वस्तु है जो विकारोत्पादक जन्तुओं के लिये हानिकारक है। मिस्टर ट्रिलिट ने मालूम किया है कि खास परिमाण में खांड के शीघ्र जलने से 'फार्मिक एल्डीहाइड' गैस उत्पन्न होती है जो रोग के सूक्ष्म जन्तुओं के नाश के लिये प्रबल औषधि है। यह रोग नाशक वस्तु जलाये जाने योग्य लकड़ी के धूम में होती है। एक सेर चीड़ की लकड़ी के धूम में फी सैकड़ा ११ अंश, शाहबलूत की लकड़ी में फी सैकड़ा ६५ अंश शुद्ध खांड में फी सैकड़ा ७० अंश और साधारण धूम में फी सैकड़ा १८ अंश एल्डीहाइड के होते हैं। महामारी के समय जो अग्नि प्रज्वलित की जाती हैं उसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव शारीरिक तथा रासायनिक होता है, यह प्रभाव उस आध्यात्मिक प्रभाव के अतिरिक्त है जो लोगों को निराशा, भय और आलस्य से बचने के लिये कुछ करना सिखाता है। अतः प्राचीन भारत वासियों का होम करना निष्फल न था।"

अग्निहोत्र सम्बन्धी काष्ठ, समिधा आदि सामान्योपचार

१. यज्ञशाला—शुद्ध पवित्र रमणीय स्थान में सम चौरस वा लम्बी चौरस अग्निहोत्र होमशाला बनावें। गृहनिर्माणशास्त्र (वास्तुशास्त्र) की रीति के अनुसार उस शाला के पूर्व और दक्षिण दिशाओं में एक २ द्वार बनावे। इसको अग्निहोत्रशाला कहते हैं।

शुद्धे रमणीयदेशे समचतुरस्रा दीर्घचतुरस्रा वा अग्निहोत्रहोमशाला कर्तव्या वास्तुशास्त्रोक्तरीत्या। तस्याः प्राच्यां दक्षिणस्यां च दिशि एकैकं द्वारं कार्यं, सा अग्निहोत्रशालेति गीयते ॥ श्रौत पदार्थ निर्वचन ॥

२. यज्ञशाला प्रयोजन—यज्ञाग्नि में अत्यन्त वायु आदि का उपद्रव न हो और वेदि में कोई पक्षी कि वा उनका बीट आदि आ न गिरे।

वाय्वाद्युपद्रवाभावा यज्ञशाला प्रयोजनम्।
न च व्यादिकृतादोषा भवेयुरिति शोचिता ॥
होमपद्धति ॥

३. यज्ञकुण्ड—दो लक्ष आहुति के लिये छः २ हाथ का समचौरस। लम्बाई चौड़ाई गहराई बराबर। तल की लम्बाई चौड़ाई ऊपर की अपेक्षा चौथाई रहे। एक लक्ष आहुति के लिये चार २ हाथ का सम चौरस इत्यादि पूर्ववत्। ५० हजार आहुति के लिये तीन हाथ का समचौरस। पौन हाथ गहरा। २५ हजार आहुति के लिये दो हाथ का समचौरस। आध हाथ गहरा। १० हजार आहुति के लिये उतना ही जितना २५ हजार के लिये। ५ हजार आहुति तक डेढ़ हाथ का समचौरस। साढ़े ८ अङ्गुल गहरा। यह परिमाण घृताहुति के लिये है। यदि २५०० घी की आहुति हों और २५०० मोहनभोग वा खीर की हों तो दो हाथ का समचौरस और आध हाथ का गहरा बनावें। इस से कम चाहे कितनी ही आहुति देनी हो सवा हाथ समचौरस और इतने ही गहरे कुण्ड से कम परिमाण में कुण्ड न बनावें।

इन कुण्डो के चारो ओर पाच २ अङ्गुल की ऊंची और पाच २ अङ्गुल चौडी तीन मेखला बनावे। ये तीन मेखला यज्ञशाला की भूमि के तले से ऊपर बनानी चाहिए। (सस्कारविधि स्वामी दयानन्दकृत)।

४. यज्ञशाला पक्की वा कच्ची—यज्ञशाला मे मार्जन और गामय आदि से लेपन करने का विधान है। माजन के लिये बुहारी (माजनी) से माजन करे। यज्ञशाला कच्ची भूमि की बनाने म दो मुख्य अभिप्राय है—

क भिन्न भिन्न समय मे भिन्न २ प्रयोजनो के लिये भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार के कुण्डो का खादने मे आसानी रहती है।

ख सर्वऋतुओ मे इस पर बैठने से ताप शीत आदि के कष्ट की निवृत्ति। कच्चे फर्श पर मिट्टी और गाबर मिलाकर लेपन करना चाहिए। हाथी, ऊट, घाडे, गधे की लीद मे चिकनाहट नही होती अत इस मिट्टी मे नहीं मिलाना चाहिए। भैंस के गाबर का मिलाने से लेपन टिकाऊ कम हाता है तथा पिस्सू बहुत बढ़ जाते है। इसलिए गाय बैल क गोबर का मिट्टी मे मिलाकर लीपना चाहिए। इसक गोबर मे अन्य पशुओं का अपेक्षा गन्ध भी कम है।

५. कुण्ड को चारो ओर से हल्दी, कुकुम और मैदा की रेखाओ से भूषित करना चाहिए। हल्दी, चूना और नींबू का रस मिलाने से कुंकुम बनता है। सब से बाहर की रेखा हल्दी की उसके भीतर की कुकुम की, और उसके भी भीतर मैदा

की रेखा होना ठीक है। इससे चीटी तथा कृमियों से बचाव रहता है।

६. यज्ञ समिधा—जो लकड़ी जलने में अधिक धुआं और दुर्गन्धि न दे वही लकड़ी यज्ञ समिधा का काम उत्तम प्रकार से दे सकती है। जैसे पलाश, शमी (जंड), पीपल, बड़, गूलर, आम, बिल्व। बादाम की लकड़ी, शाहबलूत (ओक) की लकड़ी, लैवैन्डर की लकड़ी, यूक्लिप्टिस की लकड़ी, चन्दन, सरल, साल, देवदारु, खैर इत्यादि समिधायें कीड़ों की खाई हुई और मैली न हों।

कई आचार्य चिरचिटा, दूब और कुशा भी डालना उत्तम समझते हैं।

७. समिधा परिमाण—अगूठे से अधिक मोटी तथा पतली समिधा न हों। बक्कल उतरी हुई न हों, कीड़े लगी न हों, छेद वाली खोखली न हों, फटी हुई न हो, दो शाखा वाली न हों, पत्तों वाली न हो, निस्सार न हों, परिमाण में आठ अङ्गुल हो।

नांगुष्ठादधिका कार्या समित् स्थूला तथा क्वचित्।
न वियुक्ता त्वचा चैव न सकीटा न पाटिता ॥
प्रादेशान्नाधिका न्यूना न तथा स्याद् द्विशाखिका।
न सपर्णा न निर्वीर्या होमेषु च विजानता ॥

छन्दोग परिशिष्ट॥

जो समिधा विशीर्ण, बिना बक्कल की, अति छोटी, टेढ़ी,

बोझी, सींक सी पतली, वेदि के परिमाण से लम्बी, अति मोटा और घुनी हुई समिधा यज्ञ सिद्धि में अयोग्य है।

विशीर्णा विदला ह्रस्वा वक्राः स सुषिराः कृष्णाः।
दीर्घाः स्थूला घुणैर्जुष्टाः कर्मसिद्धिविनाशिकाः॥

मरीचिः॥

८. कुण्ड के अभाव में वेदी (स्थण्डिल) निर्माण—मिट्टी से बनाया हुआ समचौकोण प्रत्येक दिशा में आठ अङ्गुल विस्तार वाला वा होमानुसार उससे अधिक हो पर न्यून न हो चार अङ्गुल ऊंचा हो, बीच में ऊंचा हो उसे स्थण्डिल कहा जाता है।

मृदा निर्मितं समचतुरस्रं प्रतिदिशमष्टांगुल विस्तृतं होमानुसारेण तत्तोऽधिकं वा न तु ततो न्यूनं चतुरंगुलोच्च मध्योन्नतं स्थण्डिलमित्युच्यते।

(श्रौतपदार्थ निर्वचन)।

९. यज्ञशाला में कुशस्थापन—चींटी आदि जन्तुओं के हटाने के लिये तथा यज्ञशाला के मार्जनादि के लिये कुशा रखनी चाहिए।

पिपीलिकादि जन्तूनां वारणाय कुशास्थितिः।
यज्ञशाला मार्जनादिकल्प्या च सुधिया धिया॥

अस्यग्नी आधत्स्वेति । स होवाच ते मैतद्ब्रूथ, वाचयम एवैधि, न वा आहिताग्निनाऽनृत वदितव्य, न वदन्जातु, नानृत वदेत्, तावत्सत्यमेवोपचार इति ॥

श० ब्रा० २.२.२.२० ॥

११. दीक्षित मनुष्य चाहे किसी वर्ण का हो वह ब्राह्मण हो जाता है—जो मनुष्य दीक्षा कर्म को समाप्त करके दीक्षित बन जाता है उस समय उस एक मनुष्य तीन बार कहता है कि 'दीक्षित हुआ यह ब्राह्मण, दीक्षित हुआ यह ब्राह्मण दीक्षित हुआ यह ब्राह्मण।' जिसके विषय में इस प्रकार कहता है वह तो अपने आपको जानता ही है कि वह दीक्षित हुआ ब्राह्मण है, परन्तु वह अन्य विद्वानों को उसके दीक्षित होने और ब्राह्मण हो जाने की खबर देता है। विद्वानों को इस प्रकार खबर देकर वह यह बतलाना चाहता है कि यह बड़ा भाग्यवान् तथा शक्तिशाली है जो बृह यज्ञ में सम्पन्न हुआ है। अर्थात् ब्राह्मणों के संगठन में आया है। वेद विद्या के द्वारा सब की रक्षा करने वाले हे ब्राह्मण लोगो! यह तुम्हारे अन्दर शामिल हो गया है इसको अपने अन्दर मिला लो, इसको अपने में रख लो।

अथैक उच्चदति—दीक्षितोऽयं ब्राह्मणो दीक्षितोऽयं ब्राह्मण इति । निवेदितमेवैनमेतत्सन्त देवेभ्यो निवेदयति—अयं महावीर्यो यो यज्ञ प्रापदिति, अयं युष्माकैकोऽभूत्तं गोपायनेत्येवैतदाह। त्रिकृत्व आह, त्रिवृद्धि यज्ञः।

॥ श० ब्रा० ३.२.१.३६ ॥

उसका ब्राह्मण कहने का यह मतलब है कि दीक्षित होने के पहिले मनुष्य की पहिचान स्पष्ट नहीं होती है। ऐसा कहते हैं कि राक्षस (वैकारिक वृत्तियां) स्त्री के पीछे लग जाते हैं और वैकारिक मनोवृत्तियों से युक्त मनुष्य जो अपनी दुर्वृत्तियों के कारण राक्षस कहलाने योग्य हैं वे ही रेतस (वीर्य) का आधान करते हैं। इस प्रकार वैकारिक मनोवृत्तियों के द्वारा स्त्री में वीर्य का आधान होने से निश्चित नहीं कहा जा सकता कि कौन मनुष्य क्या उत्पन्न होता है। परन्तु इस दीक्षा कर्म से तो निश्चित ब्राह्मण ही तैयार होता है। ब्रह्म यज्ञ से तैयार होता है इसलिये ब्राह्मण ही होता है। इस कारण दीक्षित होने से पहिले चाहे क्षत्रिय हो चाहे वैश्य हो कोई हो दीक्षित होने के बाद उसे ब्राह्मण ही कहा जाय क्योंकि ब्रह्म यज्ञ से उत्पन्न हुआ है।

अथ यद् ब्राह्मण इत्य ह। अनद्धेव वा अस्यातः पुरा जातं भवति। इदं ह्याहु रक्षांसि योषितमनुसचन्ते, तदुत रक्षांस्येव रेत आदधतीति। अथात्रोद्धा जायते यो ब्रह्मणो यो यज्ञाज्जायते। तस्मादपि राजन्यं वा वैश्यं वा ब्राह्मण इत्येव ब्रूयाद् ब्रह्मणो हि जायते यो यज्ञाज्जायते॥

शा० ब्रा० ३ २ १ ४०॥

ब्रह्म ह्यग्नि, अग्नि ब्राह्मण। ब्रह्मण अग्निना जात ब्राह्मण अग्नि ऋक् यजु साम रूप स अग्नि त्रिविद्या"। त्रिविद्या ही वेद है, ब्रह्म है अग्नि है। त्रिविद्या सम्पन्न होना अग्नि सम्पन्न होना है। अग्नि का आधान करता हुआ यजमान कर्म विशेष

के त्रिविद्या रूप का आधान करता है। त्रिविद्या रूप में वपन किया हुआ बीज त्रिविद्या रूप में ही फलीभूत होता है। इसलिये त्रिविद्या ब्रह्म से उत्पन्न हुआ ब्राह्मण हो हो सकता है दूसरा नहीं। इसलिये ब्रह्म से संस्कृत हुआ ? चाहे क्षत्रिय हो, वैश्य हो, कोई हो उसे ब्राह्मण ही कहना चाहिए।

अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतिः सम्यक् आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते ।
आदित्याज्जायते वृष्टिः वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजा ॥ मनुः ॥

अग्नि में समय के अनुकूल ठीक प्रकार से डाली गई आहुति आदित्य को प्राप्त होती है। आदित्य से वृष्टि होती है। वृष्टि से अन्न उत्पन्न होता है। अन्न से प्रजा होती है। मनु के इस वचन को सुन कर सज्जन प्रायः इस सन्देह में पड़ जाते हैं कि अग्नि में डाली गई आहुति आदित्य को अर्थात् सूर्य को कैसे प्राप्त होती है। परन्तु चूंकि अगले वाक्य में कहा है वृष्टि आदित्य से होती है। अतः समझना चाहिए कि वृष्टि जिससे होती है उसी के पास आहुति पहुँचती है। इस बात को सब स्वीकार करते हैं कि वृष्टि मेघों से होती है बिना मेघ के वृष्टि नहीं होती। इसलिये यहां पर आदित्य शब्द से मेघ का ग्रहण करना उचित है। द्युलोक में विद्यमान सूर्य का नहीं। मेघ का दूसरा नाम पर्जन्य है। बारह आदित्यों में से एक आदित्य पर्जन्य है। इस प्रकार जब कहीं यह कहा जाता है कि आदित्य से वृष्टि होती है तब उसका अर्थ समझना चाहिए कि पर्जन्य से वृष्टि होती है। इसी के सम्बन्ध से यह स्वीकार करना पड़ता है कि अग्नि में डाली हुई आहुति आदित्य (पर्जन्य) को प्राप्त होती है।

अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुति सम्यक् गादित्यमुपतिष्ठते ।
आदित्याज्जायते वृष्टि वृष्टेरन्न तत प्रजा ॥ मनु० अ०३

अग्नि म समय क अनुकूल ठ क प्रकार से डाली गइ आ हुति आदित्य को प्राप्त होती है आदित्य से वृष्टि होती है वृष्टि स अन्न उ पन्न होता है । अन्न स प्रजा होती है ।

यहा पर आदि य श०द स १२ आदि यो म स पजन्य आदि य का ग्रहण ह। अग्निहोत्र कर्म म अग्नि म डाली गइ आ हु त सू-म ह कर पज य (मघ) का प्र प्त होती है । पज य से वृ ष्ट होती है। वृष्ट से अन्न और अन्न स प्रजा उत्पन्न होती है

वह शक्ति जो मघो को बरसाती ह और मघो म रहती ह वह पज य नाम का आदि य है। उस पजन्य आदित्य क सम्ब ध स मघ भी पज य कहलाते है।

अग्निहोत्र मे कर्मों का क्रम

१ कुण्ड वा स्थण्डिलनिमाण—कुण्ड की लम्बाई और चौडाइ बराबर रखनी चाहिए जितना लम्बाइ वा चौडाई रखी हो उतनी हा गहराइ रखनी चाहिए कुण्ड क तले की लम्बाई वा चौडाइ उपर की लम्बाइ वा चौडाइ स चौथाइ हानी चाहिए, कुण्ड तीन मखलाओ स घिरा हाना चाहिए पहली मखला भूपृष्ठ से चार अगुल उची रखना चाहिए, दूसरी पहली से चार अगुल ऊची और तीसरी दूसरी स चार अंगुल ऊची रखनी चाहिए इस प्रकार कुण्ड को गोबर और मट्टी मे लीप पोतकर तैयार करना चाहिए सब से न चे की मेखला

के चारों ओर तीन अंगुल चौड़ी और चार अंगुल गहरी परिख (खाई) बनाना चाहिए,

जहां इस प्रकार का कुण्ड निर्माण करने की सुविधा न हो वहां तांबे का बना हुआ इसी प्रकार का कुण्ड लेकर कार्य करना चाहिए।

कुण्ड का निर्माण वा उपलब्धी न हो सके तो स्थण्डिल निर्माण करना चाहिए, उस पर अग्न्याधान करना चाहिए।

किसी नोकीले खोदने के साधन से भूमि को खोदकर साफकर के उस खुदे हुए, स्थान मे जल, चिकनी काली मिट्टी, चूना, चूहों की खोदी हुई मिट्टी और रेत इन पांच वस्तुओं का अच्छे प्रकार एक जान करके, भर देना चाहिए। सम चौरस पक्का तैयार करके उस पर सूखे काष्ठ रखकर उन में जलती हुई अग्नि को 'भूर्भुवः स्वः' इन पांचो अक्षरों को बोलकर आधान करें स्थापन करें रखें।

कुण्ड मे भी इसी प्रकार काष्ठ रखकर अग्न्याधान करें। किसी सद्‌गृहस्थ के घर से अग्नि ले आना चाहिए अथवा अपनी कभी न बुझती हुई सुरक्षित अग्नि मे से अग्नि लाकर स्थापन करनी चाहिए। अथवा घी का दीवा जलाकर उससे कर्पूर मे अग्नि लेकर स्थापन करना चाहिए अथवा घी के दीवे से रुई की बत्ती में अग्नि लेकर स्थापन करना चाहिए, इस प्रकार प्रथम कर्म अग्न्याधान कर्म है।

२. अग्न्याधान के पूर्व ईश्वर स्तुति प्रार्थनोपासना, स्वस्ति वाचन और शान्ति प्रकरण अनुकूलता उत्पन्न करने के लिये कर ही लेना होता है।

३. 'भूर्भुवः स्वः' य पाच अक्षर बोल कर अग्नि रखकर इस अग्न्याधान कर्म की स्तुति करे अथवा स्तुति करके अग्नि स्थापन करे।

ओं भूर्भुवः स्वर्द्यौरिवभूम्ना पृथिवीव वरिम्णा तस्यास्ते पृथिवि देवयजनी पृष्ठेऽग्निमन्नादमन्नाद्याया-ऽऽदधे ॥

भू भुवः स्व ये तीन शब्द पृथिव्यादि तीन लोको के नाम है, इनका उच्चारण करके अग्नि का स्थापन करता हुआ यज्ञकर्ता तीनो लोकों के स्वरूप का स्मरण करता है, अग्निपात्र का किसी साधन से या जलती लकडी के पूर्वाध को पकड कर कहता है हे (देवयजनि) देव जिस पर यजन करते है ऐसी तू ! हे (पृथिवी) पृथिवी। (तस्या) उस देवयजन के योग्य (ते) तेरे (पृष्ठे) ऊपर (अन्नादम्) हवन किये पदार्थ को खाने वाले (अग्निम्) अग्नि का (आदधे) स्थापन करता हूँ (अन्नाद्याय) इसलिये कि खाने योग्य अन्न की प्राप्ति हो सके, जो अग्नि (भूम्ना) विविध रूप के कारण (द्यौरिव) नक्षत्रादि के बहुत्व से युक्त द्यौ के समान है और जो अग्नि (वरिम्णा) सब वस्तुओ का शोधक होने से श्रेष्ठता के कारण (पृथिवीव) सर्व प्राणियो का आश्रय रूप श्रेष्ठ पृथिवी के समान है ऐसी अग्नि को मै (आदधे) स्थापन करता हूँ।

४. अग्न्याधान के पश्चात् अग्नि समिन्धन कर्म है—अग्नि समिन्धन के लिये घी में भिगोकर तीन समिधा स्थापित अग्नि पर रखनी होती है।

पहली समिधा—

अयन्त इध्म आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेध्यस्व वर्धस्व चेद्ध वर्धय चास्मान् प्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्चसेनान्नाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा ॥ इदमग्नये जातवेदसे इदन्नमम ॥

हे (जातवेदः) सब उत्पन्न पदार्थों में विद्यमान अग्ने! (अयम्) यह (इध्मः) काष्ठ वा समिधा (ते) तेरा (आत्मा) आत्मा है, स्वरूप है (तेन) उस समिधा के द्वारा (इध्यस्व) प्रदीप्त हो (च) और (वर्धस्व) वृद्धि को प्राप्त हो तथा (अस्मान्) हमको (इद्ध) दीप्तकर (वर्धय) बढ़ा और (प्रजया) उत्तम सन्तति के द्वारा (पशुभिः) पशुओं के द्वारा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन। विद्या के तेज द्वारा (अन्नाद्येन) उत्तम खाने योग्य अन्न द्वारा (समेधय) हमारी वृद्धि कर। (इदम्) यह वृद्धि (जातवेदसे अग्नये) जातवेदा अग्नि के लिये हो (इदम्) यह वृद्धि (मम मेरे अपने लिये (न) न हो। इसके पश्चात् स्वामी दयानन्द ने संस्कारविधि में तीन मन्त्र दो समिधाओं के लिये लिखे हैं। उन तीन मन्त्रों में से पहले दो मन्त्रों से दूसरी समिधा रक्खी जाती है और तीसरे मन्त्र से तीसरी समिधा रक्खी जाती है।

पुरानी पद्धति में 'अयन्त इध्म आत्मा०' मन्त्र से समिधा नहीं रखी जाती किन्तु अन्य तीन मन्त्रों में से प्रत्येक से एक-एक समिधा रखी जाती है, पुरानी पद्धति इस प्रकार है—

अमावस्या में अग्न्याधान किया जाता है, अग्न्याधान करने के पश्चात् उस अग्नि में समिधा रखनी होती है तो प्रथम चार ऋत्विजों के खाने लायक भात पकाकर उसे किसी चौड़ी

थाली मे निकाल लेते है, फिर उस भात के मध्य मे गढ़ा करते है, उस गढ़े का घी से भर देते है, उस घी मे पीपल की तीन समिधा भिगोते है फिर 'शमी गर्भमेतदाप्नुमः' अर्थात् इस घी को हम शमीगर्भ (अग्निगर्भ) वाला कर लेते है ऐसा कहते हुए एक-एक समिधा को एक-एक मन्त्र से अग्नि मे रखे, वहा पर कार्यकर्ता ऋत्विजो को कहता है—

हे ऋत्विजो तुम

समिधाऽग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम् ।
अस्मिन् हव्या जुहोतन ॥१॥

(समिधा) काष्ठ द्वारा (अग्निम्) अग्नि की (दुवस्यत) सेवा करो, फिर (घृतैः) हवन किये जाने वाले पूर्णाहुति संबन्धी घृतो से प्रातिभ्य कर्म करते हुए (अतिथिम्) पूजनीय इस अग्नि को (बोधयत) प्रज्वलित करो, (अस्मिन्) प्रज्वलित इस अग्नि मे (हव्या) नानाविध हवि द्रव्यो को (आजुहोतन) हवन करा ॥१॥ इस मन्त्र से एक समिधा अग्नि मे रखी जाती है, इसी प्रकार हे ऋत्विजो तुम—

सुसमिद्धाय शोचिषे घृत तीव्रं जुहोतन ।
अग्नये जातवेदसे ॥२॥

(सुसमिद्धाय) अच्छे प्रकार प्रज्वलित (शोचिषे) चमत्कार (जातवेदसे) ज्वाला युक्त (अग्नये) अग्नि के लिये (तीव्रम्) सत्कार युक्त (घृतम्) घृत को (जुहोतन) हवन करो ॥२॥

इस मन्त्र से एक समिधा अग्नि मे रखी जाती है, परन्तु स्वामी दयानन्द के अनुसार ये दोनो मन्त्र बोलने के पश्चात् दोनो मन्त्रों से दूसरी समिधा रखी जाती है, अग्नि के प्रति अब कहते है—

तं त्वा समिद्भिरङ्गिरो घृतेन वर्धयामसि ।

बृहच्छोचा यविष्ठ्य ॥३॥

हे (अङ्गिर) अङ्गिर अग्ने ! (तम्) उस (त्वा) तुझको (समिद्भिः) यज्ञ सम्बन्धी काष्ठों से (घृतेन) संस्कार किये गये घृत से (वर्धयामसि) बढ़ाते है, हे (यविष्ठ्य) युव-तम अर्थात् संश्लेषण मिलाने और विश्लेषण अलग करने के कार्यों मे उत्तम अग्ने ! वह तू (बृहत्) अधिक खूब (शोचा) चमक ॥३॥

"अङ्गिरा उ ह्यग्निः" इस श्रुति से अङ्गिरा शब्द से अग्नि का ग्रहण है, इस मन्त्र से तीसरी समिधा अग्नि मे रखी जाती है।

इसके पश्चात् प्राचीन पद्धति मे अग्नि को देखते हुए नीचे लिखे मन्त्र का जप करना होता है, स्वामी दयानन्द ने ऐसा कुछ नहीं लिखा वह मन्त्र इस प्रकार है—

उप त्वाग्ने हविष्मति घृताचीर्यन्तु हर्यत ।

जुषस्व समिधो मम ॥

हे (अग्ने) अग्ने ! (हविष्मती) हवियुक्त (घृताचीः) घृत मे भीगी हुई (समिधः) समिधाये (त्वा) तुझको (उपयन्तु) प्राप्त हों, हे (हर्यत) इच्छा करने वाले अग्नि ! तू (मम) मेरी

(समिधः) समिधाओं को (जुषस्व) स्वीकार कर। प्राचीन पद्धति में सर्पराज्ञी कद्रू से देखे गये तीन मन्त्रों द्वारा, अग्नि को आहुति करने के पश्चात्, अग्नि का उपस्थान किया जाता है। इस उपस्थान में आहवनीय, दक्षिणाग्नि और गार्हपत्य अग्नियों की स्तुति की जाती है। पश्चात् अग्नि समिन्धन होता है। स्वामी दयानन्द की निर्दिष्ट पद्धति में उपस्थान नहीं है। सपराज्ञी कद्रू पृथिव्यभिमानी है। उस से देखा गया तीन ऋचाओं का समूह सार्पराज्ञी कहलाता है। पृथिवी का वक्र होकर सूर्य के चारों ओर भ्रमण करने से पृथिवी सर्पराज्ञी है। उसी विज्ञान का इन ऋचाओं में वर्णन है। वे मन्त्र इस प्रकार हैं—

आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीदसदन्मातरं पुरः।
पितरञ्च प्रयन्त्स्वः ॥१॥

भिन्न भिन्न पदार्थों का उत्पन्न करने वाले रसायन वैज्ञानिक अग्नि से और सूर्य की किरणों से काम लेते हैं तो उनके कार्यों में लाल श्वेत नीली पीली आदि विविध ज्वालायें प्रकट होती हैं। इसी विविधता के कारण कहते हैं—

(पृश्निः) विविध वर्णों वाला (अयम्) यह प्रत्यक्ष (गौः) सूर्यस्थ अग्नि ने आहवनीय गार्हपत्य दक्षिणाग्नि स्थानों में (आ) चारों ओर (अक्रमीत्) पदारोपण किया है, और (पुरः) प्राची दिशा में (मातरम्) पृथिवी पर (प्रयन्) सचार करता हुआ आहवनीय रूप को प्राप्त हुआ है, और आदित्य रूप से (स्वः) स्वर्ग में सचार करता हुआ (पितरम्) द्युलोक को भी प्राप्त हुआ है।

द्यौ पिता पृथिवी माता' यह वचन अनेक बार सुना जाता है। यहा ऐसा समझना चाहिए कि पिण्ड पृथिवी के जिस भाग में सूर्य का तेज फैलता है वह प्राची दिग्भाग है। वही भाग सूर्य के तेज से मिला हुआ होने से आहवनीय रूप से कहा जाता है। पृथिवी के इस प्रकाशमान् भाग का ठीक उतना हा विपरीत भाग गार्हपत्य नाम से कहा जाता है। इन दोनों भागों के बीच का जो भाग है वह आन्तरीक्ष्य अग्नि वा दक्षिणाग्नि कहा जाता है।

आदित्य रूप से अग्नि की स्तुति करके वायु रूप से करते हैं—

अन्तश्चरति रोचनाऽस्य प्राणादपानती ।
व्यख्यन्महिषोदिवम् ॥२॥

(अस्य) इस अग्नि की (रोचना) वायु नाम की कान्ति शक्ति सब शरीरों में (प्राणत्) प्राण-व्यापार के अनन्तर (अपानती) अपान व्यापार करती हुई (अन्त) द्यावा पृथिवी के मध्य में (चरति) सचार करती है। इस प्रकार वह यह (महिष) महान् अग्नि अपने शक्तिरूप वायु आदित्य से इस जगत् का अनुग्रह करके अनुष्ठाताओं के लिये (दिवम्) द्युलोक को (व्यख्यत्) विशेष प्रकाशित करती है।

शरीर में जाठराग्नि है, इसी के कारण जीवन का हेतु उष्णता शरीर में बनी है, यह ही प्राण और अपान का प्रवर्तक है, इसी कारण अग्नि प्राणापान रूप है।

"अन्तरिक्षेऽयं तिर्यङ् वायु' पवते" इति श्रुतिः
"अग्निर्वै महिषः स इदं जातो महान्" इति श्रुतिः।

त्रिंशद्धाम विराजति वाक् पतङ्गाय धीयते।
प्रतिवस्तो रह द्युभिः ॥३॥

(त्रिंशद्धाम) अहोरात्र के तीस मुहूर्त धाम होते हैं उनमें जो वाक् (विराजति) विराजमान है वह (पतङ्गाय) अग्नि के लिये (धीयते) उच्चारण की जाती है, और (प्रतिवस्तोः) प्रतिदिन (द्युभिः) याग पारायण आदि उत्सव रूप दिनों से स्तुतिमयी वह वाक् अग्नि के लिये ही होती है अन्य किसी देवता के लिये नहीं।

अग्नि को पतङ्ग इसलिये कहते हैं कि वह अरणियों से गिरकर गार्हपत्य रूप को धारण करता है और वहा से गिर कर आहवनीय हो जाता है, अग्नि समिन्धन के पश्चात् अग्नि प्रदीप्त कर्म है। इस कर्म मे 'अयन्त इध्म०' इस मन्त्र का ५ बार बोल कर क्रमशः पाच घी की आहुति दी जाती है।

अग्नि प्रदीपन कर्म के पश्चात् अग्नि रक्षण कर्म है। इस कर्म मे कुण्ड के चारो ओर बनी हुई परिखा (नाली) मे पानी डाला जाता है। पूर्व दिशा मे 'अदिते अनुमन्यस्व' इस मन्त्र को बोलकर पानी डालते है। हे (अदिते) दिव्य गुणों की जननी! (अनुमन्यस्व) तू अनुमत हो हम मे दिव्यगुण उत्पन्न कर। फिर पश्चिम दिशा मे 'अनुमते अनुमन्यस्व' इस मन्त्र को बोल कर पानी डालते है, हे (अनुमते) अनुकूलता उत्पन्न करने

वाली शक्ति ! (अनुमन्यस्व) तू हमें अनुकूल होने की शक्ति प्रदान कर। फिर उत्तर दिशा में 'सरस्वत्यनुमन्यस्व' यह मन्त्र बालकर पानी डाला जाता है। हे (सरस्वति) सरस्वती ! वाग देवते (अनुमन्यस्व) तू ज्ञान व्यवहार के लिये हमारी वाणी को समर्थ कर। फिर दक्षिण दिशा में और कुण्ड के चारों ओर। (पुरानी पद्धति में कुण्ड के चारों ओर पानी डालने का कोई निर्देश नहीं है।) इसके पश्चात् चार मन्त्रों से घी की चार आहुतियां अग्नि में डाली जाती हैं। 'अग्नये स्वाहा' मन्त्र से पूर्वाभिमुख बैठा हुआ अग्निहोत्री, उत्तर दिशा में आहुति डालता है। (अग्नये) जीवन को आगे बढ़ाने वाले अग्नि के लिये (स्वाहा) यह मेरा त्याग है। (इदमग्नये) यह अग्नि के लिये अर्पण है (इदम् न मम) यह मेरा नहीं है। फिर दूसरी घी का दूसरी आहुति दक्षिण दिशा में डाली जाती है, 'सोमाय स्वाहा' (सोमाय) जीवन को शान्त और स्थिर करने के लिये साम के लिये (स्वाहा) यह मेरा त्याग है, (इदम् सोमाय) यह साम के लिये अर्पण है (इदम न मम) यह मेरे लिये नहीं है, शेष दो आहुतियां कुण्ड के मध्य में डाली जाती हैं, (प्रजापतये स्वाहा) रक्षित अग्नि प्रजापति हो जाता है प्रजा का उत्पन्न करने में समर्थ होने से उसका नाम प्रजापति है, सन्तति परम्परा में जीवन में चलाये कार्यों को आगे ले जाने में समर्थ प्रजापति के लिये तीसरी आहुति से त्याग का प्रकाश है (इदम् प्रजापतये) यह त्याग प्रजापति के लिये है (इद न मम) यह अभिमान से सर्वथा शून्य है। चौथी आहुति भी कुण्ड के मध्य में ही दी जाती है। (इन्द्राय स्वाहा) गृहस्थ जीवन को चलाने के लिये

जब तक पूर्ण सामर्थ्य प्राप्त न हो जाय तब तक सन्तान उत्पन्न करना अयुक्त है, जो पूर्ण समर्थ हो चुका है वह इन्द्र है, उस इन्द्र के स्मरण के लिये चतुर्थ आहुति है, चतुर्थ त्याग है। (इदम् इन्द्राय) यह त्याग भी इन्द्र के लिये अर्पण करना होता है (इदम् न मम) इसमे भी अपनापन नही रखना होता है। इन चारों आहुतियों को 'आघाराज्यभागाहुति' कहते हैं। इन चारों आहुतियों में जीवन के चार क्रम बतलाये हैं। पहिला क्रम जीवन यज्ञ सम्बन्धी पूर्ण ज्ञान प्राप्त करने का है। दूसरे क्रम में उस ज्ञान से शान्ति और स्थिरता के भाव अर्थात् अहिंसा और सत्य के भावों का अभ्यास है। तीसरे क्रम मे अपनी विद्या और विविध गुणों के द्वारा संसार के लाभार्थ अपनी योग्यता के अनुसार अनेक कार्य आरम्भ करता है। चौथे क्रम में गृहस्थ जीवन चलाने मे पूर्ण सामर्थ्य प्राप्त करके विवाहित होकर उत्तम सन्तान उत्पन्न करता है जो सन्तान उसके कार्य को अग्रसर करती है। इस प्रकार इन आहुतियों का बड़ा महत्त्व है। संसार का जीवनयज्ञ इसी प्रकार से ठीक चलता है।

स्वामी दयानन्द की पद्धति में ये आहुतियां हैं, प्राचीन पद्धति में इनकी योजना दैनिक अग्निहोत्र में नहीं रखी मालूम होती। इसके पश्चात् तीन आहुतियां प्रातः और तीन आहुतियां सायंकाल की हैं। इनके साथ चौथी एक आहुति ब्रह्मवर्चस्काम पुरुष सबन्धी भी मिला देते हैं। इस प्रकार चार आहुति प्रातः की और चार सायंकाल की हो जाती हैं ये निम्न प्रकार हैं—

ओं सूर्यो ज्योति ज्योतिः सूर्य्यः स्वाहा ॥ १ ॥
ओं सूर्यो वर्चो ज्योति वर्चः स्वाहा ॥ २ ॥
ओं ज्योतिः सूर्यः सूर्यो ज्योतिः स्वाहा ॥ ३ ॥
ओं सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजू रुषसेन्द्र-
वत्या जुषाणः सूर्यो वेतु स्वाहा ॥ ४ ॥
ओं अग्नि ज्योति ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा ॥ ५ ॥
ओं अग्नि वर्चो ज्योतिर्वर्चः स्वाहा ॥ ६ ॥
ओं अग्नि ज्योति ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा ॥ ७ ॥
ओं सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजूरात्र्येन्द्र-
वत्या जुषाणो अग्निर्वेतु स्वाहा ॥ ८ ॥

इन मन्त्रों का अर्थ और व्याख्या पिछले प्रकरणों में किया जा चुका है, इसके लिये देखो अग्निहोत्र की यज्ञरूपता और विविधरूपता' 'अग्निहोत्र की प्रजननरूपता', तथापि यहां संक्षेप में इन मन्त्रों का अर्थ लिखा जाता है।

(अग्नि) यह जो अग्नि देव है वह ही (ज्योतिः) दृश्य-मान ज्योतिः स्वरूप है (ज्योतिः) और जो यह दृश्यमान ज्योति है (अग्नि) वह अग्निदेव है (स्वाहा) उस ज्योतिरूप अग्नि के लिये हवि दिया जाता है। सायं काल आदित्य अग्नि में प्रवेश करता है इस कारण रात में अग्नि दूर से भी दिखाई पड़ता है दोनों तेज मिल जाते है। उदय होते हुए आदित्य पर ज्योतिः स्वरूप अग्नि फिर आरोहण कर जाता है इस कारण

अग्नि का धूम ही दिन में दिखाई पड़ता है, तैत्तिरीय श्रुति में यह कथन इस प्रकार है—

"अग्निमादित्यः सायं प्रविशति तस्मादग्नि र्दूराननक्त ददृशे। उभे हि तेजसी सम्पद्येते। उद्यन्तं वाऽऽदित्य ज्योतिः स्वरूपोऽग्निरनुसमारोहति तस्माद्धूम एवाग्ने र्दिवा ददृशे।"

(सविता) प्रेरक (देवेन) परमेश्वर देव के (सजूः) साथ तथा (इन्द्रवत्या) इन्द्र देव से युक्त (रात्र्या) रात्रि देवता के (सजूः) साथ (जुषाणः) प्रीतियुक्त (अग्निः) अग्नि (वेतु) आहुति को भक्षण करे अतः (स्वाहा) उस को हवि दी जाती है।

प्राचीन पद्धति में अग्निहोत्र में हवन करने के इतने ही मन्त्र हैं, स्वामी दयानन्द की पद्धति में ये भी हैं और इनके अतिरिक्त लोकवाची व्याहृति के साथ लोकों और प्राण शब्दों को जोड़कर अन्य पांच आहुतियां प्रातः सायं देने का विधान है। प्राचीन पद्धति में ये नहीं हैं। मन्त्र इस प्रकार हैः—

ओं भूरग्नये प्राणाय स्वाहा।
इदमग्नये प्राणाय इदन्न मम॥
ओं भुवर्वायवे अपानाय स्वाहा।
इदं वायवेऽपानाय इदन्न मम॥
ओं स्वरादित्याय व्यानाय स्वाहा।

इदमादित्याय व्यानाय इदन्न मम॥
ओं भूर्भुवः स्वरग्नि वाय्वादित्येभ्य!
प्राणापानव्यानेभ्यः ` स्वाहा।
इदमग्नि वाय्वादित्येभ्यः प्राणा-
पानव्यानेभ्यः इदन्न मम।
ओं आपो ज्योतिरसोऽमृत ब्रह्म
भूर्भुवः स्वरोम् स्वाहा॥

(भूः) प्राणों का प्राण, (भुवः) दुःख विनाशक, (स्वः) सुख स्वरूप, ये परमेश्वर के तीन नाम है। (भूः) सत् स्वरूप, [भुवः] चित स्वरूप, [स्वः] आनन्द स्वरूप इस प्रकार भी सच्चिदानन्द स्वरूप परमात्मा को भूः भुवः स्वः शब्दो से स्मरण कर सकते हैं। भूः भुवः स्वः ये तीनों शब्द तीन लोकों के नाम भी है. [भूः] पृथवी लोक, [भुवः] अन्तरिक्ष लोक, [स्वः] द्यु लोक। इन तीन लोको के तीन लोकी अर्थात् इनके देवता हैं, भूः का अग्नि है, भुवः का वायु है, स्वः का आदित्य है। अध्यात्म मे इन देवों के कार्यों के अनुसार इनका नाम क्रमशः प्राण, अपान और व्यान है। द्युलोक या स्वः के चारों ओर एक चतुर्थ लोक है जिसे आपः कहते हैं। आपः को ब्रह्म लोक भी कहते हैं। ये सब मिलकर ओम् है, ओम् के अन्तगत हैं। इस प्रकार तीन लोकों के सम्बन्ध मे आध्यात्मिक, आधिदैविक सम्बन्ध से तीन मन्त्रों के द्वारा कथन करके चतुर्थ मन्त्र से

तीनों का समावेश किया है और पाचवें मन्त्र में सबका सम्बन्ध ओम् के साथ दिखलाया है। तीन लोक अग्नि लोक है चौथा सोम लोक है, अग्नि में सोम की आहुति पड़ने से ओम् के अन्तर्गत अग्निहोत्र हो रहा है और सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति आदि कार्य चल रहा है। इस प्रकार यदि सोचें तो अग्निहोत्र के प्रकरण में इन मन्त्रों का समावेश करने में कुछ अनुचित नहीं किया है, यज्ञ करने वाला अग्निहोत्री इस सृष्टि यज्ञ सम्बन्धी पदार्थों को सर्व लोक कल्याण के लिये उपयोगी बनाने को आहुति देता और 'इदन्नमम' कहकर सकुल कर्मफल को लोकहित के लिये अर्पण करता है। इसके पश्चात् ओम् यह सर्व है और पूर्ण है इस सिद्धान्त के अनुसार 'ओ सर्वं वै पूर्णं स्वाहा' कह कर अन्तिम तीन पूर्णाहुति की जाती है, तीन आहुति करने का अभिप्राय तो सत्यता और दृढ़ता का सूचक है। इस प्रकार की पूर्णाहुति का निर्देश प्राचीन पद्धति में नहीं है। इस प्रकार अग्नि प्रज्वलित होने के पश्चात् स्वामी दयानन्द के अनुसार कुल आहुति १६ होती है। शेष मन्त्र जो बोले जाते हैं वे उपस्थान मन्त्र है। अग्निहोत्र करने वाले भक्तजन उनसे भी आहुति प्रदान कर देते हैं और सब के अन्त में पूर्णाहुति करते है।

१६ आहुतियों की परिगणना

४ आघारावाज्य भागाहुति।

४ साय काल की वा प्रातः काल की आहुति।

४ व्याहृति प्राणाहुति।

१ सर्वैंक्यभावद्योतकाहुति।

३ पूर्णाहुति।

स्वामी दयानन्द की पद्धति के साथ पाच उपस्थान मन्त्र निम्नलिखित है—

ओं यां मेधां देवगणाः पितरश्चोपासते।
तया मामद्य मेधयाऽग्ने मेधाविनं कुरु॥ १॥

हे (अग्ने) ज्ञान स्वरूप परमेश्वर (देवगणाः) विविध विद्याओं मे निष्णात विद्वान (च) और (पितर) वृद्ध पुरुष (याम्) जिस [मेधाम्] मेधा बुद्धि को [उपासते] उपासना करते है [तया] उस [मेधया] मेधा से [अद्य] आज [माम्] मुझको [मेधाविनम्] मेधा युक्त [कुरु] कर।

ओं विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव।
यद्भद्रं तन्न आसुव॥ २॥

हे [सवितः] सब के प्रेरक [देव] परमेश्वर [विश्वानि] सब [दुरितानि] दुर्गुणों को [परासुव] दूर कर [यद्] जो [भद्रम्] सुख और कल्याण है, [तत्] वह [नः] हम को [आसुव] प्राप्त करा।

ओं अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्
विश्वानि देव वयुनानि विद्वान्।
युयोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनो
भूयिष्ठान्ते नम उक्तिं विधेम॥ ३॥

हे [अग्ने] मार्ग दर्शक परमेश्वर ! [अस्मान्] हम को [राये] ऐश्वर्य प्राप्ति के लिये [सुपथा] उत्तम मार्ग से [नय] ले चल हे [देव] प्रकाश दाता ! तू [विश्वानि] सब [वयुनानि कर्मों का [विद्वान्] जानता है, [जुहुराणम्] कुटिलता को [एनः] पाप को [अस्मत्] हम से [युयोधि] दूर भगा, [ते] तेरे लिये [भूयिष्ठाम्] बहुत अधिक [नमः उक्तिम्] नम्रता सूचक भाषण [विधेम] करते हैं।

ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि।
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ ४ ॥

हे [भूर्भुवः स्वः] सच्चिदानन्द स्वरूप परमात्मन् ! [सवितुः] सब जगत् के उत्पादक [देवस्य] देव का [वरेण्यम्] ग्रहण करने योग्य उत्तम (भर्ग) तेज का (धीमहि) ध्यान करें (यः) जो (नः) हमारी (धियः) बुद्धियों को (प्रचोदयात्) शुभ कार्य में प्रेरित करे।

ओं नमः शम्भवाय च मयोभवाय च।
नमः शङ्कराय च मयस्कराय च।
नमः शिवाय च शिवतराय च ॥ ५ ॥

(शम्भवाय) कल्याण स्वरूप (च) और (मयोभवाय) सुख स्वरूप परमेश्वर के लिये (नमः) नमस्कार है। (शङ्कराय) कल्याण कारक (च) और (मयस्कराय) सुख कारक परमेश्वर के लिये (नमः) नमस्कार है। (शिवाय) मङ्गलमय [च] और [शिवतराय] मङ्गलमयों में सबसे अधिक मङ्गलमय परमेश्वर के लिये [नमः] नमस्कार है।

प्राचीन पद्धति में उपस्थान मन्त्र इनसे भिन्न है, प्राचीन पद्धति के अनुसार उपस्थान मन्त्र निम्न प्रकार है

पहिले देव दृष्ट बृहत् उपस्थान कहा जाता है—

सायंकाल आहुति कर चुकने पर यजमान उठ कर आहवनीय और गार्हपत्य अग्नियों के पास उपस्थित होता है, तब आहवनीयोपस्थान मन्त्र बोलता है—

उप प्रयन्तो अध्वरं मन्त्रं वोचेमाग्नये ।
आरे अस्मे च शृण्वते ॥ १ ॥

[अध्वरम्] यज्ञ के [उपप्रयन्तः] समीप जाकर हम उस [अग्नये] अग्नि के लिये [मन्त्रम्] मन्त्र [वोचेम] बोलें जो अग्नि [आरे] हमसे दूर [अस्मे च] और हमारे पास [शृण्वते] सुनता है।

अग्निर्मूर्धा दिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति ॥ २ ॥

[दिवः] द्युलोक का [मूर्धा] शिर समान [ककुत्] सब के ऊपर स्थित होने से गोस्कन्ध के समान अथवा श्रेष्ठ आदित्य [पृथिव्याः] पृथिवीस्थ पदार्थों का [पतिः] धारण पालन और प्रकाश के द्वारा परिपालक है [अयम्] यह [अग्निः] अग्नि [अपाम्] द्युलोक से वृष्टि रूप में पड़ते हुए जलों का [रेतांसि] व्रीहि यव आदि रूप से परिणत सारों को [जिन्वति] बढ़ाता है, अथवा [अपां रेतांसि] जलों के कारणों को [जिन्वति] पुष्ट करता है— आहुति के फल स्वरूप

वृष्टि को उत्पन्न करता है।

उभा वामिन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्या,

उभा राधसः सह मादयध्यै।

उभा दातारविषां रयीणाम्,

उभा वाजस्य सातये हुवे वाम् ॥ ३ ॥

हे [इन्द्राग्नी] आहवनीय और गार्हपत्य [वाम् उभौ] तुम दोनों को [आहुवध्या आह्वान करना चाहता हूं [राधसः] हवि रूप धन से [उभा] तुम दोनों को [सह] एक साथ (मादयध्यै) हर्षित करना चाहता हूं क्योंकि (उभा) तुम दोनो (इषाम्) अन्नों के (रयीणाम्) और धनो के (दातारौ) दाता हो, अतः (उभा वाम्) तुम दोनों को (वाजस्य) अन्न के (सातये) दान के लिये (हुवे) बुलाता हूं।

अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियो यतो जातो अरोचथाः।

त जानन्नग्न आरोहाथा नो वर्धया रयिम् ॥ ४ ॥

हे (अग्ने) आहवनीय ! (अयम्) यह गार्हपत्य (ते) तेरा (योनिः) उत्पत्ति स्थान है, जो साय और प्रातः काल उत्पादन योग्य होने से अब (ऋत्वियः) ऋतुकाल को प्राप्त हुआ है, (यतः) ऋतुकाल को प्राप्त गार्हपत्य से (जातः) उत्पन्न होने से तू (अरोचथाः) दीप्त हो, हे अग्ने ! (तम्) उस गार्हपत्य को जानकर फिर उद्धरण करने के लिये कर्म समाप्ति में आरोह) प्रवेश कर, (अथ) इस के बाद (नः) हमारे लिये (रयिम्) धन की (वर्धया) वृद्धि कर कि जिससे फिर याग करने में समर्थ होवें।

अयमिह प्रथमो धायि धातृभि,
होता यजिष्ठो अध्वरेष्वीड्यः ।
यमप्नवानो भृगवो विरुरुचु
र्वनेषु चित्रं विभ्व विशे विशे ॥ ५ ॥

(अयम्) यह आहवनीय (इह) कर्म करने में (प्रथमः) मुख्य है इसलिये (धातृभिः) आधान करने वालों ने (अधायि) आधान किया है, कि (यजिष्ठः) बहुत अधिक यज्ञ करने वाला (होता) देवों को बुलाने वाला (अध्वरेषु) सोमयागादि में (ईड्यः) ऋत्विजों से स्तुति किया जाता है, (यम्) विविध कर्मों में उपयोगी होने से जिस (चित्रम्) आश्चर्यकारी (विभ्वम्) विभुत्व शक्ति युक्त को (अप्नवानः) अपत्यवाले (भृगवः) परिपक्वज्ञान वाले मुनि (विशे विशे) प्रत्येक मनुष्य के लिये (वनेषु) वनों में (विरुरुचु) दीप्त करे ॥

अस्य प्रत्नामनुद्युतं शुक्रं दुदुह्रे अह्रयः ।
पयः सहस्रसामृषिम् ॥ ६ ॥

(अह्रयः) लज्जा रहित निःशङ्क जितेन्द्रिय पुरुष (अस्य) इस अग्नि की (द्युतिम् अनु) चमक के अनुरूप (शुक्रम्) शुद्ध तेजोवर्धक [ऋषिम्] ज्ञानवर्धक [सहस्रसाम्] हजारों गुणों को देने वाली गौओं के [पयः] दूध को [दुदुह्रे] दोहते हैं ॥

शुक्र रूप अग्नि के द्वारा सिंचनक्रियायोग्य तेज ही गौए दूध रूप से झरती है, यही बात अग्निहोत्र ब्राह्मण में स्पष्ट की है:—

"तासु हाग्निरभिदध्यौ मिथुन्येनया स्यामिति, तां संबभूव, तस्यां रेतः प्रासिञ्चत्, तत्पयोऽभवत् इति । तासु गोषु ॥"

तनूपा अग्नेसि तन्वं मे पाहि ।
आयुर्दा अग्नेऽस्यायुर्मे देहि ।
वर्चोदा अग्नेऽसि वर्चो मे देहि ।
अग्ने यन्मे तन्वा ऊनं तन्म आपृण ॥ ७ ॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! तू उदर में विद्यमान है, तेरे द्वारा अन्न जीर्ण होते हैं और रस रक्त आदि रूप में परिणत होते हैं अतः तू [तनूपा] शरीर का पालक [असि] है। हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! शरीर में तू उदराग्निरूप से विद्यमान है, तेरी ही उष्णता शरीर में है. जब तक यह उष्णता उपलब्ध होती है तब तक प्राणी मरता नहीं है. इस प्रकार मृत्यु का परिहार करने से तू [आयुर्दा] आयु देने वाला [असि] है।

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! तू वैदिक कर्मों का साधक है, उन कर्मों से वर्च अर्थात् दीप्ति चमक उपलब्ध होती है, इसलिये तू [वर्चोदा] वचस् देने वाला [असि] है । इसलिये हे अग्ने ! [मे] मेरे [तन्वम्] शरीर की [पाहि] रक्षा कर, [मे] मेरे लिये [आयुः] आयु [देहि] दे, [मे] मुझ में [वर्चः] वैदिक कर्मों के करने से उत्पन्न तेज [देहि] दे । और हे अग्ने ! [मे] मेरे [तन्वा] शरीर में [यत्] चक्षुः आदि जो अङ्ग [ऊनम्] दृष्टि आदि कम में कमजोर है [तत्] उस सब

को [मे] मुझ मे [आपृण] चारों ओर से पूर्ण कर।

इन्धानास्त्वाशतं हिमा द्युमन्त समिधीमहि।
वयस्वन्तो वयस्कृतं सहस्वन्तः सहस्कृतम्।
अग्ने सपत्नदम्भन मदब्धासो अदाभ्यम्।
चित्रावसो स्वस्ति ते पारमशीय ॥ ८ ॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! तेरा कृपा से [इन्धानाः] चमकते हुए हम [द्युमन्तम्] चमकते हुए [त्वा] तुझ को [वयस्वन्तः] अन्नवाले हम [वयस्कृतम्] तुझ अन्नदाता का [सहस्वन्तः] बल युक्त हम [सहस्कृतम्] तुझ बलदाता को [अदब्धासः] किसी से हिंसा न किये गये हम [अदाभ्यम्] हिंसा न किये जा सकने योग्य तुझको [सपत्नदम्भनम्] शत्रुओं के नाशक तुझको [शत हिमाः] सौ वर्ष तक [समिधीमहि] प्रज्वलित करें। हे [चित्रावसो] रात्रि ! [स्वस्ति] उपद्रव रहित जैसे हो वैसे [ते] तेरे [पारम्] अन्त को [अशीय] प्राप्त हो।

देवयजन मे चोर आदि के समान राक्षसों की प्रवृत्ति होती है उस को दूर करने के लिये अग्नि के प्रताप से यह रात्रि सुख से मेरी समाप्त हो ऐसी कामना है।

"रात्रिर्वै चित्रावसुः—साह्यीयं संगृह्येव चित्राणि वसति।" इति श्रुतिः ॥ (श० २। ३। ४। २२)

रात्रि मे चन्द्र नक्षत्र अन्धकार रूप से विविध पदार्थों का वास रहता है इसलिये रात्रि चित्रावसु होती है।

यहां तक खड़े होकर उपस्थान करना होता है, इसके पश्चात बैठकर उपस्थान किया जाता है।

सं त्वमग्ने सूर्यस्य वर्चसाऽगथाः
समृषीणां स्तुतेन, सं प्रियेण धाम्ना ।
समहमायुषा, सं वर्चसा स प्रजया,
सं रायस्पोषेण ग्मिषीय ॥ ९ ॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! तू आज रात में [सूर्यस्य] सूर्य के [वर्चसा] तेज से [समगथाः] सगत है, [ऋषीणाम्] अग्नि की स्तुति करने वाले उपस्थानादि मन्त्रों के [स्तुतेन] स्तोत्र से भी तू [समगथाः] सङ्गत है, और [प्रियेण धाम्ना] प्रिय आहुतियों के साथ भी तू [समगथाः] सङ्गत है। तो इस प्रकार जैसे तू इन तीन के साथ सङ्गत है वैसे [अहम्] मैं भी तेरी कृपा से [आयुषा] पूर्ण आयु से [संग्मिषीय] सङ्गत होऊँ [वर्चसा] विद्या ऐश्वर्य आदि के तेज से [संग्मिषीय] सङ्गत होऊँ, [प्रजया] पुत्रादि प्रजा से [संग्मिषीय] सङ्गत होऊँ [रायस्पोषेण] धन सम्पत्ति से [संग्मिषीय] सङ्गत होऊँ।

"तद्यदस्तं यन्नादित्य आहवनीयं प्रविशति तेनैत दाह। तद्यदुपतिष्ठते तेनैनदाह। आहुतयो वा अस्य प्रियं धाम।" इति श्रुतयः। (श० २। ३। ४। २४)

इसके बाद गौ का उपस्थान करना होता है—

अन्धस्थान्धो वो भक्षीय, महस्थ महो वो भक्षीय, ऊर्जस्थोर्जं वो भक्षीय, रायस्पोषस्थ रायस्पोषं वो भक्षीय ॥ १० ॥

हे गायो ! तुम [अन्धः] घी दूध आदि रूप अन्न के उत्पादक होने से व्यवहार में अन्नरूप [स्थ] हो, इसलिये आप की कृपा से मैं [वः] तुम्हारे [अन्धः] दूध घी आदि रूप अन्न को [भक्षीय] सेवन करूं । तुम [महः] पूज्यरूप [स्थ] हो इसलिये (वः) आप पूज्यों की कृपा से मैं भी (महः) पूज्य भाव को (भक्षीय) ग्रहण करूं, अथवा तुम (महः) दश वीर्य रूप (स्थ) हो अतः (वः) तुम्हारे उस (महः) वीर्य को मैं (भक्षाय) सेवन करूं । (ऊर्जः) गोदुग्ध बल का हेतु है इसलिये व्यवहार से तुम बलरूप (स्थ) हो अतः (वः) तुम्हारी कृपा से (ऊजम्) बल को (भक्षाय) सेवन करूं (रायस्पोषः) दूध घी आदि का विक्रय कर के धन के बढ़ाने से व्यवहार में तुम धन पुष्टि रूप (स्थ) हो अतः तुम्हारी कृपा से मैं (रायस्पोषम्) धन पुष्टि को (भक्षीय) सेवन करूं ।

"यथा गौवैं प्रति धुक् तस्यै शृतं तस्यै शर स्तस्यै दधि तस्यै मस्तु तस्या आतञ्चनं तस्यै नवनीतं तस्यै घृतं तस्या आमीक्षा तस्यै वाजिनम्" ये श्रुति में बतलाये गये दस वीर्य 'महः' कहलाते है । तत्काल दोहे हुए दूध को प्रतिधुक् कहते हैं । गरम किये हुए दूध को 'शृत' कहते हैं। दूध की मलाई को 'शर' कहते हैं । दही के पानी को 'मस्तु' कहते हैं । जिससे दूध जमाया जाय वह दही का पिण्ड 'आतञ्चन' कहलाता है । फटे हुए दूध को 'आमीक्षा' कहते हैं। आमीक्षा के पानी को 'वाजिन' कहते है ।

रेवती रमध्व मस्मिन योना वस्मिन् गोष्ठे, ऽस्मिं-ल्लोके, ऽस्मिनक्षयं, इहैव स्त मापगात ॥११॥

हे (रेवतीः) धन वाली गायो ! यदि चाहो तो (अस्मिन्) इस अग्निहोत्र की हवि के दोहनोपयोगी (योनौ) स्थान में (रमध्वम्) सचार प्रदेश में विचरो, (अस्मिन्) इस यजमान के (गोष्ठे) गौओं की जगह में (रमध्वम्) विहार करो, (अस्मिन्) इस यजमान की दृष्टि में रहने वाले (लोके) बाहिर घूमने के प्रदेश में (रमध्वम्) विहार करो, अथवा रात्रि में (अस्मिन्) इस (क्षये) यजमान गृह में (रमध्वम्) विहार करो, इस प्रकार तुम्हें घूमने फिरने का प्रदेश प्राप्त होने से कुछ क्लेश नहीं होगा इसलिये तुम (इहैव) यहां ही यजमान के पास (स्त) रहो मा अपगात) अन्यत्र न जाओ ॥

"पशवो वै रेवन्तः" यह श्रुति है (श० २।३।४।२६)।

अब गौ को स्पर्श करता हुआ कहता है—

संहिता सि विश्वरूप्यूर्जा माविश गौपत्येन ॥१२॥

हे गौः! तू (विश्वरूपी) शुक्ल कृष्ण आदि बहुरूप वाली (संहिता) दूध घी आदि हविः देने के लिये यज्ञ कर्मों से संयुक्त (असि) है ऐसी तू (ऊर्जा) दूध घी आदि रस से (गौपत्येन) गोस्वामी रूप से (मा) मुझ में (आविश) पूर्णरूप से प्रविष्ट हो कि तेरी कृपा से मैं बहुत प्रकार के रस से और गोस्वामीपन से सम्पन्न हो जाऊं ॥

अब गार्हपत्य के उपस्थान के मन्त्र आरम्भ होते है, इसके पश्चात् गार्हपत्य अग्नि के पास जाकर उपस्थित होता है—

उपत्वाग्ने दिवे दिवे दोषावस्तर्धिया वयम् ।

नमो भरन्त एमसि ॥१३॥

हे (अग्ने) अग्ने ! हे (दोषावस्तः) रात्रि मे वसनशील गार्हपत्य मे (वयम्) हम यजमान (धिया) श्रद्धायुक्त बुद्धि से (नमः) नमस्कार (भरन्तः) करते हुए (दिवे दिवे) प्रतिदिन (त्वा) तेरे पास (उप एमसि) आते है ॥

राजन्तमध्वराणां गोपामृतस्य दीदिवम् ।

वर्धमानं स्वे दमे ॥१४॥

(अध्वराणाम्) यज्ञों के (गोपाम्) रक्षक (ऋतस्य) सत्य के (दीदिवम्) चमकाने वाले (स्वेदमे) अपने घर मे (वर्धमानम्) चातुर्मास्य सोम पशु आदि यागो के द्वारा बढ़ते हुए अतएव (राजन्तम्) चमकते हुए तुझको प्राप्त होते है ।

स नः पितेव सूनवेऽग्ने सूपायनो भव ।

सचस्वा नः स्वस्तये ॥१५॥

हे (अग्ने) गार्हपत्य अग्ने ! (सः) इस प्रकार गुणों से युक्त तू (नः) हमारे लिये (सूपायनः) सुख से प्राप्त हो सकने योग्य (भव) हो, (इव) जैसे (पिता) पिता (सूनवे) पुत्र के लिये निर्भय प्राप्त होता है, और (नः) हमारे (स्वस्तये) कल्याण के लिये (सचस्व) कर्म से युक्त हो, अर्थात् जैसे पिता पुत्र के कल्याण मे लगा रहता है और दुःखादि से रक्षा के लिये पुत्रादि निःशङ्क उसका आश्रय लेते है वैसे ही तू हमारे लिये हो ।

अग्ने त्वं नो अन्तम उत त्राता शिवो भवा वरूथ्यः ।१६।

हे (अग्ने) गार्हपत्य अग्ने ! (त्वम्) तू (नः) हमारा (अन्तमः) समीपवर्ती (भवा) हो, (उत) और (त्राता) रक्षक (शिवः) शान्त (वरूथ्यः) गृह के लिये हितकारी (भवा) हो ।

वसुरग्निर्वसुश्रवा अच्छा नक्षि द्युमत्तमं रयिं दाः ॥१७॥

हे अग्ने ! तू (वसुः अग्निः) जनों का बसाने वाला वसु नामक अग्नि है (वसुश्रवा) धन से कीर्तिमान है ऐसा तू (अच्छा नक्षि) व्याप्त हो, अथवा हे (अच्छ) निर्मल अग्ने ! (अनक्षि) हमारे होमस्थान को जा और (द्युमत्तमम्) अति-दीप्तियुक्त (रयिम्) धन को (दाः) दे ।

तं त्वा शोचिष्ठ दीदिवः सुम्नाय नून मीमहे सखिभ्यः ॥१८॥

हे (शोचिष्ठ) अत्यन्त दीप्तिमान् ! और हे (दीदिवः) सबके चमकाने वाले ! (तम्) पूर्वोक्त गुणयुक्त (त्वा) तुझको (सखिभ्यः) अर्थ के लिये (सुम्नाय) सुख के लिये (नूनम्) निश्चय से [ईमहे] याचना करते हैं अथवा (सुम्नाय) सुख के लिये (सखिभ्यः) और अपने मित्रों के उपकार के लिये (त्वा) तुझको (ईमहे) याचना करते हैं ।

सनो बोधि श्रुधि हवमुरुष्याणो अघायतः समस्मात् ॥१९॥

(सः) वह तू (नः) हमको (बोधि) ज्ञान युक्त कर वा चेतन कर और हमारी (हवम्) पुकार को (श्रुधि) सुन,

[समस्मात्] सब [अघायतः] पाप करने वाले शत्रु से [नः] हमारी [उरुष्य] रक्षा कर।

अब गौ के पास जाता है—

इड एह्यदित एहि । काम्या एत,

मयि वः कामधरणं भूयात् ॥२०॥

हे [इडे] गौ ! [एहि] होमस्थान में आ, हे [अदिते] दिव्यगुणों की जननी गौ ! [एहि] होमस्थान में आ, जैसे इडा मनु के पास गई वैसे तू हमको प्राप्त हो, और जैसे अदिति आदित्यों को प्राप्त हुई वैसे तू हमको प्राप्त हो। हे [काम्याः] सब से कामना की जाने योग्य गौओ ! तुम [एत] प्राप्त हो [वः] तुम्हारा [कामधरणम्] यथेष्ट फल का प्राप्त कराना (मयि) मुझमें [भूयात्] होवे, अर्थात् तुम्हारी कृपा से मैं अभीष्ट फल का धारण करने वाला होऊं, अथवा मुझमें तुम्हारे प्रति अनुराग हो।

'अहं वः प्रियो भूयासम्' इतिश्रुतिः (श० २।३।४।३४)

इडा मनोर्दुहिता । अदिति र्देवमाता ।

अब अतोपायन के सदृश आहवनीय के सामने पूर्व की ओर मुख करके नौ ऋचायें जपता है—

सोमानं स्वरणं कृणुहि ब्रह्मणस्पते ।

कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥२१॥

हे (ब्रह्मणस्पते) वेद के रक्षक ! (यः) जो (औशिजः) उशिज से उत्पन्न हुआ दीर्घतमस् का औरसपुत्र है उस (कक्षी-

धन्तम्) कक्षीवान् ऋषि को (सोमानम्) रस निकालने वाले को (स्वरणम्) शब्द करने वाला (कृणुहि) कर, कक्षीवान के समान मुझको सोमयाग करने वाला और स्तुति करने वाला बना।

यो रेवान यो॒ऽमीवहा वसुवित् पुष्टिवर्धनः।
स नः सिषक्तु यस्तुरः ॥२२॥

(यः) जो ब्रह्मणस्पति (रेवान) धनवान और (यः) जो [अमीवहा] रोग का नाश करने वाला (वसुवित्) धन का ज्ञाता (पुष्टिवर्धनः) पोषक है और (यः) जो (तुरः) वेगशील है तथा शीघ्रकारी है (सः) वह ब्रह्मणस्पति (नः) हमको (सिषक्तु) सेवन करे।

अथवा (य) जो (रेवान) धनवान् (अमीवहा) व्याधि का नाश करने वाला (वसुवित्) धन का उपार्जन करने वाला (पुष्टिवर्धनः) पोषक है (सः) वह (तुरः) शीघ्रकारी पुत्र (नः) हमारी [सिषक्तु] सेवा करे॥

मा नः शंसो अररुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य।
रक्षाणो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥२३॥

हे [ब्रह्मणस्पते] वेद के पालक! [नः] हमारी [रक्षा] रक्षा कर जिससे कभी भी [अररुषः] हविर्दान न करने वाले [मर्त्यस्य] मनुष्य का [शसः] अनिष्टचिन्तन वा द्रोह [धूर्तिः] हिंसा [नः] हमको [मा प्रणक्] न नाश करे।

महित्रीणामवोऽस्तु द्युक्षं मित्रस्यार्यम्णः ।
दुराधर्षं वरुणस्य ॥२४॥

(मित्रस्यार्यम्णो वरुणस्य) मित्र अर्यमा वरुण इन (त्रीणाम्) तीन देवों का (महि) महत् (द्युक्षम्) प्रकाश का आश्रय (दुराधर्षम्) जिसका तिरस्कार नहीं किया जा सकता ऐसा (अवः) रक्षण (अस्तु) होवे।

न हि तेषाममा चन नाध्वसु वारणेषु ।
ईशे रिपुरघशंसः ॥२५॥

(तेषाम्) उनके (वारणेषु) वारण प्रधान (अध्वसु) मार्गों में (अमा चन) घरों में भी (अघशमः) घातक (रिपुः) शत्रु (नहि) नहीं (ईशे) समर्थ है।

ते हि पुत्रासो अदितेः प्रजीवसे मर्त्याय ।
ज्योतिर्यच्छन्त्यजस्रम् ॥२६॥

(हि) क्योंकि (ते) मित्र अर्यमा वरुण (अदितेः) अखण्डित शक्ति देवमाता के (पुत्रासः) पुत्र (मर्त्याय) मनुष्य के लिये (जीवसे) जीने को (अजस्रम) निरन्तर (ज्योतिः) तेज (प्रयच्छन्ति) देते है। इसलिये शत्रु का बाधा नहीं है।

कदाचन स्तरी रसि नेन्द्र सश्चसि दाशुषे ।
उपोपेन्नु मघवन भूयइन्नुते दानदेवस्य पृच्यते ॥२७॥

हे (इन्द्र) परमैश्वर्ययुक्त ! तू (कदाचन) कभी (स्तरीः) हिंसक (न) नहीं (असि) है, (नु) किन्तु (दाशुषे) हविः

देने वाले को (सश्चसि) सेवा करता है। हे (मघवन्) धनवान् ! [देवस्य] प्रकाशमान [ते] तेरा [भूयः] बहुत [इत्] ही [दानम्] दान [नु] शीघ्र [इत्] ही [दाश्वांसम्] देने वाले को [उपोपपृच्यते] प्राप्त होता है ॥

तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
धियो योनः प्रचोदयात् ॥२८॥

[तत्] उस [सवितुः] सर्वप्रेरक [देवस्य] देव का [वरेण्यम्] आराध्य [भर्गः] वीर्य का धीमहि] ध्यान करते है [यः] जो [नः] हमारी [धियः] बुद्धियों वा कर्मों का [प्रचोदयात्] प्रेरणा देता है।

"वरुणाद्ध वा अभिषिषिचानाद् भर्गोऽपचक्राम । वीर्यं वै भर्गः" इति श्रुतिः (श० ५ । ४ । ५ । १) । मण्डलं पुरुषो रश्मयः इत्यपि त्रय भर्ग शब्दाभिधेयम् ।

परि ते दूडभो रथोऽस्मानश्नोतु विश्वतः ।
येन रक्षसि दाशुषः ॥२९॥

हे अग्ने ! [दूडभः] किसी से भी जो सहसा हिंसित नहीं किया जा सकता [ते] तेरा [रथः] रथ हमको [परि] चारों ओर से [अश्नोतु] प्राप्त हो [येन] जिस रथ से तू [दाशुषः] दानशील यजमानों को [रक्षसि] पालन करता है।

"यजमाना वै दाश्वांसः" इतिश्रुतिः (श० २।३।४।३८)।

यह बृहत् उपस्थान समाप्त हुआ।

अब आसुरि दृष्ट क्षुल्लकोपस्थान आरम्भ किया जाता है।

भूर्भुवः स्वः—सुप्रजाः प्रजाभिः स्यां सुवीरो वीरैः सुपोषः पोषैः ॥१॥

हे अग्ने गार्हपत्य ! वा आहवनीय ! तू [भूर्भुवः स्वः] तीन व्याहृति रूप वा तीन लोकरूप है इसलिये तेरी कृपा से मैं [प्रजाभिः] बन्धु भृत्य आदि रूप प्रजाओं से [सुप्रजाः] उत्तम प्रजा वाला [स्याम्] होऊं, और [वीरैः] पुत्रों से [सुवीरः] उत्तम पुत्रवान् [स्याम्] होऊं, और [पोषैः] हिरण्यादि पोषक द्रव्यों से [सुपोषः] उत्तम पुष्टियुक्त [स्याम्] होऊं।

नर्य प्रजां मे पाहि, शंस्य पशून्मे पाहि, अथर्य पितुं मे पाहि ॥२॥

यदि यजमान अन्य गांव को जावे तो सब अग्नियों का उपस्थान करे, अतः यह प्रवास करने को उद्यत यजमान का उपस्थान कहा जाता है। जैसे कि—

हे [नर्य] नरों के लिये हितकारी गार्हपत्य ! [मे] मेरी [प्रजाम्] प्रजा की [पाहि] रक्षा कर, हे [शंस्य] काम करने वालों के द्वारा प्रशंसनीय आहवनीय ! [मे] मेरे [पशून्] पशुओं को [पाहि] रक्षा कर, हे [अथर्य] गार्हपत्य अग्नि से निरन्तर अपने स्थान की ओर जाने वाले गमनशील दक्षिणाग्ने ! [मे] मेरे [पितुम्] अन्न को [पाहि] रक्षा कर।

यजमान जब लौट कर आवे तब किसी भी मनुष्य से बिना मिले ही हाथ में समिधा लेकर पहिले अग्न्यागार में जाकर

आहवनीय गार्हपत्य दक्षिणाग्नि में से प्रत्येक का उपस्थान करे, इसका नाम आगतोपस्थान है, आहवनीयोपस्थान इस प्रकार करे—

आगन्म विश्ववेदस मस्मभ्यं वसु वित्तमम्।
अग्ने सम्राडभि द्युम्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ॥१॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! हे [सम्राट्] सम्राट् ! आहवनीय ! [विश्ववेदसम्] सर्वज्ञ वा सवधन [अस्मभ्यम्] हमारे लिये [वसुवित्तमम्] अतिशय धन के प्राप्त करने वाले तुमको उद्देश्य करके हम ग्रामान्तर से [आगन्म] लौट आये हैं ऐसा तू हमारे लिये [द्युम्नम] यश [सहः] बल [अभ्यायच्छस्व] दे।

अब गार्हपत्य का उपस्थान करे—

अयमग्निर्गृहपतिर्गार्हपत्यः प्रजाया वसुवित्तमः।
अग्ने गृहपतेऽभिद्युम्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ॥२॥

(अयम्) यह सामने विद्यमान (अग्निः अग्नि (गार्हपत्यः) गार्हपत्य (गृहपतिः) गृह का रक्षक है, (प्रजायाः) पुत्र पौत्र आदि के अनुग्रह के लिये (वसुवित्तमः) धन का अत्यधिक प्राप्त करने वाला है उससे प्रार्थना करता हूँ—हे (अग्ने) अग्ने ! हे (गृहपते) गृहपते गार्हपत्य ! वह तू द्युम्नम्) यशः (सहः) और बल (अभ्यायच्छस्व) दे।

इसी प्रकार दक्षिणाग्नि का उपस्थान करता है—

अयमग्निः पुरीष्यो रयिमान् पुष्टि वर्धनः।

अग्ने पुरीष्याभि द्यु म्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ॥ ३ ॥

(अयम्) यह (अग्निः) अग्नि (पुरीष्यः) पशुओं के लिए हितकारी है (रयिमान्) धनवान् (पुष्टि वर्धनः) पुष्टि बढ़ाने वाला है, उस से प्रार्थना करता हूं—हे (अग्ने) अग्ने ! हे (पुरीष्य) पशुहित ! दक्षिणाग्ने ! हमारे लिये (द्यु म्नम्) यश (सहः) और बल (अभ्यायच्छस्व) दे ।

"पशवो वै पुरीषम्" इति श्रु तिः ।

इसके बाद ग्रामान्तर से आया हुआ घरों मे जाता है—

गृहा मा बिभीत मावेपध्वमूर्जं बिभ्रत एमसि ।
ऊर्जं बिभ्रद्वः सुमनाः सुमेधा गृहानैमि मनसा मोदमानः ॥ १ ॥

हे (गृहाः) गृहजनो ! पालक यजमान गया है इसलिये (माबिभीत) भय मत करो, कोई भी शत्रु आकर विनाश करेगा इस विचार से (मा वेपध्वम्) कांपो मत, क्योंकि हम (ऊर्जम्) ऊर्ज को (बिभ्रतः) धारण करते हुए (वः) तुम को (एमसि) प्राप्त हुए है, जैसे तुम ऊर्ज का धारण कर रहे हो ऐसे मैं भी [ऊर्जम्] ऊर्ज को धारण करके [सुमनाः] सुप्रसन्न [सुमेधाः] उत्तम मेधायुक्त [मनसा] दुःख रहित मन से [मोदमानः] हर्षित होकर [वः] तुमको [एमि] लौट रहा हूँ ।

येषा मध्येति प्रवसन् येषु सौमनसो बहुः, गृहानुप ह्वयामहे ते नो जानन्तु जानतः ॥ २ ॥

देशान्तर को जाता हुआ यजमान [येषाम्] जिन गृहों का [अध्येति] स्मरण करता है [येषु] और जिन गृहों के साथ यजमान का [बहुः] अत्यधिक [सौमनसः] प्रेम है उन [गृहान्] गृहों को हम [उपह्वयामहे] बुलाते हैं [ते] वे बुलाये हुये वास्तु देव [जानतः] उपकार जानने वाले [नः] हम को [जानन्तु] पहिचानें।

उपहूता इह गाव, उपहूता अजावयः, अथो अन्नस्य कीलाल उपहूतो गृहेषु नः, क्षेमाय वः शान्त्यै प्रपद्ये, शिवं शग्मं शंयोः शंयोः ॥ ३ ॥

हमारे घरों में ये [गावः] गौ और बैल [उपहूता इव] सुख से रहने के लिये अब हम से आज्ञा दिये गये है, इसी प्रकार [अजावयः] भेड़ और बकरी [उपहूता] यहां रहने के लिये बुलाये गये हैं, [अथ उ] और [अन्नस्य] अन्न का [कीलालः] रस भी [नः गृहेषु] हमारे घरों में [उपहूतः] समृद्ध हो इस प्रकार से आज्ञा दी है, हे गृहा ! [क्षेमाय] विद्यमान वसु संरक्षण के लिये [शान्त्यै] सब अरिष्टों की शान्ति के लिये [वः] तुम को [प्रपद्ये] प्राप्त होता हूं अतः [शिवम्] कल्याण चाहने वाले को [शंयोः शग्मम्] ऐहिक सुख और [शंयो शग्मम्] परलोक का सुख होवे। उपस्थान मन्त्र समाप्त हुये।

यद्यपि स्वामी दयानन्द की पद्धति नवीन जैसी प्रतीत होती है परन्तु वह भी सूत्र ग्रन्थों के आधार पर बनी होने से प्राचीन ही है, बहुत ही सम्बद्ध होने से रुचिकर है, यदि स्वामी

दयानन्द की पद्धति में 'गायत्री मन्त्र' और 'नमः शम्भवाय च०' मन्त्रों के स्थान में केवल एक सर्वंवैपूर्णं स्वाहा बोला जाय तो १६ आहुति हो जाती है अन्यथा १६ आहुति होती है।

उपसंहार

अब इस निबन्ध को समाप्त करता हूं विद्वान पाठकों से निवेदन है कि इस का विचार पूर्वक पढें इस में जो अपूर्णता रह गई हो उसका निर्देश करके दूर करने का प्रयत्न करें, जो इसमें अच्छा हो उसका प्रचार करके प्राचीन ऋषियों के प्रति सम्मान प्रकट करें।

❀ समाप्त ❀

परिशिष्ट

अग्निहोत्राधिकारः

अन्याधानम्

अमावास्यायामग्न्याधेयं क्रियते।

तत्र चतुर्भिर्ऋत्विग्भिः प्राशातुर्योग ओदनं पक्त्वा च हरुद्धास्य तस्यौदनस्य मध्ये घृतसेचनाय निम्नं स्थान कृत्वा सर्पिषा तदापूय तस्मिन् सर्पिषि आश्वत्थीः तिस्रः समिधोऽभ्यज्य शमीगर्भमेतदम्नुम इति वदन्त एकैकामेकैकयर्चा अग्नावभ्यादधति। तत्र ब्रूते—हे ऋत्विजः यूयम्—

"समिधाऽग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम्।
आस्मिन् हव्या जुहोतन" ॥१॥

[समिधा] काष्ठद्वारा नाग्निं [दुवस्यत] परिचरत। ततः [घृतैः] हाव्यमाणैः पूर्णाहुतिमम्बन्धिभिघृतैरातिथ्य-कर्मणे [अतिथिम्] अर्हणीयमेन बाधयत] प्रज्वालयत। [अस्मिन] प्रज्वालिते च तस्मिन्नग्नौ [हव्या] नानाविधानि हवींषि [आजुहोतन] आजुहुत ॥१॥

हे ऋत्विजः यूयम्—

"सुसमिद्धाय शोचिषे घृतं तीव्रं जुहोतन ।
अग्नये जातवेदसे" ॥२॥

[सुसमिद्धाय] सम्यक् पज्वलिताय [शोचिषे] शोचिष्मते [जातवेदसे] जात प्रज्ञानाय [अग्नये] अग्नये [तीव्रम] महद्गुणोद्वासनाधश्रयणादिभिः संस्कृत [घृतम्] घृतम् [जुहोतन] जुहुत ॥२॥

अग्निं प्रत्याह—

"तं त्वा समिद्भिरङ्गिरो घृतेन वर्धयामसि ।
बृहच्छोचा यविष्ठ्य ॥३॥"

[अङ्गिरः] हे अङ्गिरः अग्ने [तम्] निर्दिष्ट गुणवन्तं [त्वा] त्वा [समिद्भिः] यज्ञ सम्बन्धिकाष्ठैः [घृतेन] संस्कृतेनाज्येन च [वर्धयामसि] प्रवृद्ध कुमः [यविष्ठ्य] हे युवतम अग्ने ! स त्वम् [बृहत्] अधिकम् [शोचा] दीप्यस्व ॥३॥

"अङ्गिरा उ अग्निः" इति श्रुतेः (१।४।१।२५)

अथाग्निं मीक्षमाणः केवल जयति—

"उपत्वाग्ने हविष्मतीर्घृताचीर्यन्तु हर्यत ।
जुषस्व समिधो मम" ॥४॥

[अग्ने] हे अग्ने ! [हविष्मती] हविर्युक्ताः [घृताचीः]

घृताक्ताः [समिधः] एताः समिध [त्वा] त्वाम् प्रति [उपयन्तु] उप गच्छन्तु । [हर्यत] हे हर्य्यत ! हे इच्छुक ! अग्ने ! त्वम् [मम समिधः] ता मम समिधः [जुषस्व] स्वीकुरु ॥४॥

अथ आपो हिरण्यमूषाऽऽखूत्करः शर्करा इति पञ्च संभारान सम्पाद्य प्रथमेनोल्लिखितायां शुद्धायां भूमौ तानवस्थाप्य तेषु शुष्क काष्ठे उज्ज्वलन्तमग्निं भूर्भुवः स्वरिति पञ्चाक्षराण्युच्चारयन्नादध्यात् । तादृदमाहवनीयाधानम् । भूर्भुवः स्वः—द्यौरिव भूम्ना पृथिवीव वरिम्णा तस्यास्ते पृथिवि देवयजनि पृष्ठेऽग्निमन्नादमन्नाद्यायाऽऽदधे ॥ ५ ॥

[भूर्भुवः स्वः] भूर्भुवः स्वरित्येतास्तिस्रो व्याहृतयः पृथिव्यादि लोकत्रय नामानि आभिः स्थापयन लोकत्रयमनेन स्मरति । इध्म पूर्वार्द्धं गृहीत्वा ब्रूते [देवयजनि] देवा इज्यन्ते यस्या मा हे देवयजनी ! [पृथिवि] हे पृथिवि ! [तस्याः] देवयजन योग्यायाः [ते] तव [पृष्ठे] उपरि [अन्नादम] हुत भोक्तार गार्हपत्यादि रूपम् [अग्निम] अग्नि [आदधे] स्थापयामि [अन्नाद्याय] भोक्तुं योग्याय अन्नाय अन्नभक्षणाय वा, योह्यग्निः [भूम्ना द्यौ रिव] यथा द्यौ नक्षत्रादि बहुत्वेन युक्ता तथा ज्वालाबहुत्वेन युक्ता वर्तते, यश्चाग्नि [वरिम्णा पृथिवीव] यथा पृथिवी सर्वं प्राण्याश्रयत्व रूप श्रेष्ठत्वेनोपेता तथा सर्वं वस्तु शोधकत्वरूप श्रेष्ठत्वोपेतो वर्तते तादृशमग्नि (आदधे ।

स्थापयामि ॥ ५ ॥

अथ सर्पराज्ञी कद्रूः पृथिव्यभिमानिनी तया दृष्टां ऋचं सार्पराज्ञी तयाऽऽहवनीय मुपतिष्ठते, ततो दक्षिणाग्निमादधाति--

आय गौः पृश्निरक्रमीदसदन्मातरं पुरः ।
पितरञ्च प्रयन्त्स्वः ॥ १ ॥

अन्तश्चरति रोचनाऽस्य प्राणादपानती ।
व्यख्यन्महिषो दिवम् ॥ २ ॥

त्रिंशद्धाम विराजती वाक् पतङ्गाय धीयते ।
प्रतिवस्तो रहद्युभिः ॥ ३ ॥

यज्ञनिष्पत्तये तत्तद्यजमानगृहेषु गन्ता लोहित शुक्लादि बहुविधज्वालोपेतत्वात् (पृश्निः चित्रवर्णश्च (अयम) दृश्यमानः (गौः) सूर्यस्याग्निरा हवनीय गार्हपत्य दक्षिणाग्न स्थानेषु (आ) सर्वतः (अक्रमीत्) पाद विक्षेप कृतवान् । तथाहि (पुरः) प्राच्यां दिशि (मातरम्) पृथिवीम (प्रयन) सञ्चरन (पितरम्) द्युलोकमपि प्राप्तवान ॥१॥

"द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता" इति च श्रूयते बहुधा। अत्रेदं बोध्यम् पिण्डात्मिकायाः पृथिव्याः यस्मिन् भागे सूर्यस्य तेजः प्रसरति स प्राचो दिग्भागः सूर्य तेजः सम्पृक्तत्वात् आहवनीय रूपेणोच्यते, तावानेव पृथिव्याः

पश्चिमो भागः गार्हपत्य रूपेणोच्यते मध्ये च तयोः योभागः स अन्तरीक्षाग्निः दक्षिणाग्नि र्वा उच्यते इति।

एवमादित्यरूपेणाग्निं स्तुत्वा वायुरूपेण स्तौति—

(अस्य) अग्नेः (रोचना) काचिच्छक्ति र्वाय्वाख्या सर्वशरीरेषु (प्राणात्) प्राणव्यापारादनन्तरम् (अपानती) अपानव्यापारं कुर्वती (अन्तः) वाय्वाप्नुयिव्या र्मध्ये (चरति) चरति, सोऽयमेव (महिषः) महानग्निः वाय्वादित्याभ्यां स्वशक्तिभूताभ्यामिदं जगदनुगृह्य अनुष्ठातृभ्यां भागस्थानं (दिवम्) द्युलोकम (व्यख्यत्) विशेषेण प्रकाशितवान प्रकाशयति च॥२॥

सति हि जठराग्नौ जीवनहेतौ रौष्यस्य शरीरे सद्भावात् प्राणापानौ प्रवर्त्तेते तस्मादपिः प्राणापानरूपः॥

"अन्तरिक्षेऽय तिर्यक् वायुः पवते" इति श्रुतिः।
"अग्नि च महिषः स इदं जातो महान्" इति श्रुतिः।

(त्रिशद्धाम) अहोरात्रस्य त्रिंशन्मुहूर्ता धामानि भवन्ति तेषुया (वाक्) वाक् (विराजति) विराजति सा (पतङ्गाय) भाग्न्यर्थम् (धीयते) उच्चार्यते। किञ्च (प्रति वस्तो) प्रत्यहम् (द्युभिः) यागपारायणाद्युत्तरमूर्तैरहोभिः स्तुतिलक्षणा मा सर्वापि (पतङ्गाय) अग्न्यर्थम् (अह) एव नान्यस्मै देवतायै॥३॥

यतन् गच्छति पतङ्गः। यतोऽग्नारण्योः पतन् गार्हपत्यभावं

गच्छति ततः पतन्नाहवनीयतामित्यतोऽग्निः पतङ्गः । अहीति निपातो विनिग्रहार्थः ॥

इत्यग्न्याधेय मन्त्रा अग्नौ व्याख्याताः ।
इत्याधान प्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

अतः परं होम प्रकरणम्

अथाग्निहोत्र होम मन्त्राः--

तत्र प्रदोषां समिधमभिलक्ष्य--

अग्नि ज्योति ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा ॥ १ ॥
इति सायं जुहुयात् ।
सूर्यो ज्योति ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहा ॥ २ ॥
इति प्रात जुहुयात् ।

यस्तु ब्रह्मवर्चस कामः सः--

अग्निर्वर्चो ज्योति र्वर्चः स्वाहा ॥ ३ ॥
इति साय जुहुयात् ।
सूर्यो वर्चो ज्योति र्वर्चः स्वाहा ॥ ४ ॥
इति प्रात जुहुयात् ।
ज्योतिः सूर्यः सूर्यो ज्योतिः स्वाहा ॥ ५ ॥
इति वा प्रात जुहुयात् ।

(अग्नि) योऽयमग्निरयः स एव (ज्योतिः) दृश्यमान ज्योति स्वरूपम । (ज्योतिः) यच्च दृश्यमान ज्योतिः (अग्निः) तदेवाग्निर्देव तस्मै ज्योतीरूपायाग्नये (स्वाहा) हविः प्रदीयते ।

"अग्निमादित्यः सायं प्रविशति तस्मादग्नि दूराक्षक्तं दद्दशे । उभे हि तेजसी सम्पद्येते । उद्यन्तं वाऽऽदित्यं ज्योतिः स्वरूपोऽग्निरनु समारोहति तस्माद्धूम एवाग्ने दिवा ददृशे" इति तैत्तरीयश्रुति ।

अथवा—

सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजूरात्र्येन्द्रवत्या जुषाणो अग्नि र्वेतु स्वाहा ॥ १ ॥

इति साय जुहुयात् ।

सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजूरुषसेन्द्रवत्या जुषाणः सूर्यो वेतु स्वाहा ॥ २ ॥

इति प्रात जुहुयात् ।

(सवित्रा) प्रेरकेण (देवेन) परमेश्वरेण (सजूः) समान प्रीति, तथा (इन्द्रवत्या) इन्द्र देवोपेतया (राज्या) रात्रि देव तया (सजू) समान प्रीतिः (अग्निः) अग्निः (जुषाणः) प्रीतियुक्त सन आहुति (वेतु) भक्षयतु अतः (स्वाहा) तस्मै हवि दीयते । यथाऽयमग्निः साय तथा सूर्यः

प्रात हवि र्भक्षयत् ॥

इति होममन्त्राः ।

अथोपस्थान मन्त्राः ।

तत्र तावद् बृहदुपस्थान देवदृष्टम् ।

सायमाहुत्यां हुतायां यजमान उत्थाय आहवनीय गार्हपत्यावग्नी उपतिष्ठते । तत्र तावदाहवनीयोपस्थान मन्त्रा--

उप प्रयन्तो अध्वरं मन्त्रं वोचेमाग्नये ।
आरे अस्मे च शृण्वते ॥ १ ॥

(अध्वरम्) यज्ञम् (उपप्रयन्तः) उपगच्छन्तः वय तस्य (अग्नये) अग्नेरुद्देशेन (मन्त्रम) मन्त्रम (वोचेम) वोचेम यो हि (आरे) दूरे (अस्मे च) अस्मत् समीपे च (शृण्वते) शृणोति ॥ १ ॥

अग्निर्मूर्धा दिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति ॥ २ ॥

(दिवः) द्युलोकस्य उपरिकृत्या (मूर्धा) शिरः समानः (ककुत्) आदित्यरूपेण सर्वोपरिस्थित्या गोस्कन्धसमानः श्रेष्ठो वा (पृथिव्याः) वाह पाक प्रकाशैः पृथिवीस्थानाम् (पति) परिपालकः (अयम्) अयम् (अग्निः) अग्नि (अपाम्) द्युलोकात् वृष्टिरूपेण पतन्तीनामपाम् (रेतांसि) साराणि व्रीहि यवादि रूपेण परिणतानि (जिन्वति) वर्धयति, यद्वा (अपा

रेतांसि) अपां कारणानि (जिन्वति) पुष्णाति आहुति परिणामेन वृष्टिं जनयति ॥ २ ॥

उभा वामिन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्या,
उभा राधसः सह मादयध्यै ।
उभा दाताराविषां रयीणाम्,
उभा वाजस्य सातये हुवे वाम् ॥ ३ ॥

हे (इन्द्राग्नि) आहवनीय गार्हपत्यौ (वाम) युवाम [उभौ] उभावपि [आहुवध्या आह्वातुमिच्छामि, तथा [राधसः] हविलक्षण धनात् युवाम् [उभा] उभावपि [सह] युगपत् [मादयध्यै] मादयितु हर्षयितु वा इच्छामि, यतः (उभा) उभौ युवाम (इषाम) अन्नानाम् (रयीणाम्) धनानाच (दातारौ) दातारौ स्थः, अतः (उभा) उभौ (वाम्) युवाम (वाजस्य) अन्नस्य (सातये) दानाय (हुवे) आह्वयामि ॥ ३ ॥

अथाग्नेरुपस्थानमः—

अय ते योनि ऋत्वियो यतो जातो अरोचथाः ।
त जानन्नग्न आरोहाथा नो वर्धया रयिम् ॥ ४ ॥

हे (अग्ने) आहवनीय ! (अयम्) गार्हपत्यः (ते) तव (योनिः) उत्पत्तिस्थानमस्ति, योहि सायं प्रातः काले उत्पादन योग्यत्वादिदानीं (ऋत्वियः) प्राप्त ऋतुकालः (यतः) यस्माच्च ऋतुकालोपेनाद्गार्हपत्याम् (जातः) उत्पन्नात् त्वं कर्मकाले (अरोचथाः) दीप्तोऽभूः, हे अग्ने ! (तम्) गार्हपत्यम्

(जानन्) जानन् पुनरुद्धरणाय कर्मान्ते आरोह) प्रविश, (अथ) अनन्तरम (नः) अस्मदर्थम् (रयिम) धनम् (वधया) वधय यतः पुनर्याग कुर्याम ॥ ४ ॥

अयमिह प्रथमो धायि धातृभि
होता यजिष्ठो अध्वरेष्वीड्यः ।
यमप्नवानो भृगवो विरुरुचु
र्वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे विशे ॥ ५ ॥

[अयम्] आहवनीयः [इह] कर्मानुष्ठाने [प्रथमः] मुख्य इति [धातृभिः] आधान कर्तृभिः [अधायि] आहितो ऽभून, यत [यजिष्ठः] अतिशयेन यष्टा [होता] देवानामाह्वाता [अध्वरेषु] सोमयागादिषु ऋत्विग्भिः [ईड्य] स्तुत्यश्चाय भवति, [यम्] यश्च विविधकर्मोपयोगीत्वेन [चित्रम्] आश्चर्य-कारिणम [विश्वम्] विभुत्व शक्तियुतम् [अप्नवानः] अपत्यवन्तः [भृगवः] भृगुवंशोत्पन्न मुनय [विशे विशे] प्रत्येक यजमानाथ [वनेषु] ग्रामाद् बहि यंजमानाध्यारण्य प्रदेशेषु [विरुरुचुः] दीपयन्तिस्म ॥ ५ ॥

अस्य प्रत्नामनु द्युतिं शुक्रं दुदुह्रे अह्रय ।
पयः सहस्रसामृषिम् ॥ ६ ॥

[अस्य] अग्नेः [प्रत्नाम] पुरातनी (द्युतिम) दीप्तिम (अनु) अनुसृत्य (अह्रयः) लज्जारहिता दोग्धारः (सहस्रसाम्) क्षीर दध्याज्य हविः प्रदानादनेकानेक कम समापिकाम् (ऋषिम्) गाम [शुक्रम्] शुद्धम् (पयः) पयः [दुदुह्रे]

दुदुहिरे इत्याह । यद्वा --

आलिन्याभावेन [अह्नयः] निलज्जा विशुद्धा गावः [अस्य] अग्नेः [प्रत्नाम्] चिरन्तनीम् आत्मानुषक्ता [श्रुतिम्] श्रुतिं [शुक्रम्] शुक्ररूपामन्नाम् [अनु] अनु [पयः] पयः [दुदुह्रे] दुदुहिरे । यत पयः [सहस्रसाम्] सहस्रशः कर्माणि चातुर्मास्य पशु सोमादीनि मनाति [ऋषिम्] अर्षति च ॥ ६ ॥

अग्निना शुक्ररूपेण सिक्तं तेज एव गावो दुग्ध-रूपेण क्षरन्ति । सोऽयमर्थः स्पष्टीकृतोऽग्निहोत्र ब्राह्मणे--

"तासु हाऽग्नि रभिदध्यौ मिथुन्ये नया स्यामिति, तां संबभूव, तस्यां रेतः प्रासिञ्चत्, तत्पयोऽभवत्" इति । तासु गोषु ॥

अथ यजुर्मन्त्रा--

तनूपा अग्नेऽसि तन्वं मे पाहि ।

आयुर्दा अग्नेऽस्यायुर्मे देहि ।

वर्चोदा अग्नेऽसि वर्चो मे देहि ।

अग्ने यन्मे तन्वा ऊनं तन्म आपृण ॥ ७ ॥

हे (अग्ने अग्ने ! जठरे विद्यमाने सातत्वयि अन्नानि जीर्यन्ते रसासृगादिरूपै परिणमन्ते च अतः त्वं (तनूपा) शरीर पालक (असि) असि । हे (अग्ने) अग्ने ! वपुषि उदराग्नि-रूपेण विद्यमाने सति त्वयि औष्ण्यमुपलभ्यते, यावत्कालमिद-

मौध्यमुपलभ्यते तावन्नम्रियसे इति मृत्यु परिहारेण त्वम (आयुर्दा) आयुर्दायकः (असि) असि! हे (अग्ने) अग्ने! वैदिक कर्मानुष्ठान साधके त्वयि विद्यमाने सति तत्कर्म जनित वर्च उपलभ्यते अतः त्वम् (वर्चोदा) वर्चोदायक (असि) असि। अतः हे अग्ने! (मे) मम (तन्वम्) शरीरम (पाहि) रक्ष, (मे) मह्यम [आयु] आयु [देहि] देहि, [मे] मयि [वर्चः] वैदिक कर्मानुष्ठान प्रयुक्त तेजः [देहि] देहि। किञ्च हे [अग्ने] अग्ने! [मे] मम [तन्वाः] शरीरस्य [यत्] यदेवाङ्ग चक्षुरादिकम् [ऊनम] दृष्टिपाटवादिरहितम् [तम्] तत्सर्वम [मे] मयि [आपृण] सवतः पूरय।

यद्दर्शनादेवाय ब्राह्मणस्तपसाऽग्निरिव ज्वलतीति बुद्धिर्भवति तदिह वैदिककर्मानुष्ठान प्रयुक्त तेजो वर्चः।

> इन्धानास्त्वा शतंहिमा द्युमन्तं स मधीमहि।
> वयस्वन्तो वयस्कृतं सहस्वन्तः सहस्कृतम्।
> अग्ने सपत्नदम्भनमदब्धासो अदाभ्यम्।
> चित्रावसो स्वस्ति ते पारमशीय ॥ ८ ॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने! त्वदनुग्रहेण [इन्धानाः] दीप्यमाना वयं [द्युमन्तम्] दीप्तिमन्तम् [त्वा] त्वाम् [वयस्वन्तः] अन्नवन्तो वयम् [वयस्कृतम्] अन्नप्रदातारम् त्वां [सहस्वन्तः] बलवन्तो वय [सहस्कृतम] बलप्रदातारम् त्वां [अदब्धासः] अनुपहिंसिता वयम [अदाभ्यम्] अनुपहिंसनीयम् [सपत्नदम्भनम] शत्रुणामुपहिंसितारं च त्वाम [शतं हिमाः] शतवर्षपर्यन्तं [समिधीमहि] प्रज्वालयामः। हे [चित्रावसो] रात्रे! [स्वस्ति]

निरुपद्रवं यथास्यात्तथा [ते] तव [पाग्म] अन्नम् [अशीय] प्राप्नुयाम् ।

चौरादिवदत्र देवयजने रक्षसां प्रवृत्तिविनिवृत्तये 'अग्निप्रतापेनेय रात्रिः सुखेन मे समाप्नोतु' इत्याशंसति । "रात्रिं वैं चित्रावसुः—साहीय सगृह्य व चित्राणि वसति ।" इति श्रुतिः (१ । ३ । ४ २२) । वसन्ति हि रात्रौ विविधानि चन्द्र नक्षत्रान्धकार रूपाणीति चित्रा-वसुः सा भवति ॥

एतावत् पर्यन्त मुत्थित एवोपतिष्ठेत् ।
अतः परमुपविश्यापतिष्ठेत् ।
स त्वमग्ने सूर्यस्य वर्चसाऽगथाः
समृषीणां स्तुतेन, स प्रियेण धाम्ना ॥
समहमायुषा, स वचसा, सं प्रजया,
सं रायस्पोषेण ग्मिषाय ॥ ६ ।

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! [त्वम्] त्वम् इदानीं रात्रौ [सूर्यस्य] सूर्यस्य [वर्चसा] तेजसा [समगथाः] सङ्गतोऽसि [ऋषीणाम्] अग्निस्तावकानामुपस्थानादि मन्त्राणा [स्तुतेन] स्तोत्रेणापि त्वं [समगथाः] सङ्गतोऽसि, एव [प्रियेण धाम्ना] प्रियाभिराहुतिभिश्च (समगथाः) सङ्गतोऽसि । तदित्थं यथा त्वमेतैस्त्रिभिः सङ्गतः एवम् (अहम्) अहमपि त्वत्प्रसादात् [आयुषा] पूर्णायुषा [सग्मिषीय] सगतो भूयासम्, [वचसा] विशेष-

यदि प्रयुक्त तेजसा [सम्मिषीय] संगतो भूयासम्, [प्रजया] पुत्रादि प्रजया [सम्मिषीय] संगतो भूयासम्, [रायस्पोषेण] धन सम्पत्या च (संमिषीय) संगतो भूयासम् ।

"तद्यदस्तं यन्नादित्य आहवनीयं प्रविशति तेनैतदाह । तद्युदुपतिष्ठते तेनैतदाह । आहुतयो वा अस्य प्रियं धाम" इति श्रुतयः (२ । ३ । ४ । २४) ॥

अतः परं यजुर्वेदेन गा गच्छति । हे गाव यूयम् ।

अन्धस्थान्धो वो भक्षीय महस्थ महो वो भक्षीय, ऊर्जस्थोर्ज वो भक्षीय, रायस्पोषस्थ रायस्पोषं वो भक्षीय ॥१०॥

हे गावः ! यूयम् [अन्धः] क्षीराज्यादिरूपस्यान्नस्य जनकत्वादुपचारेण अन्नरूपाः [स्थ] स्थ, अतो भवत्प्रसादादहं [वः] युष्मत्सम्बन्धि [अन्धः] क्षीराज्यादिरूपमन्नं [भक्षीय] सेवेय । तथा यूयम् [महः] पूज्यरूपाः [स्थ] स्थ, अतः पूज्यानां [वः] युष्माकं प्रसादादहमपि [महः] पूज्यत्व [भक्षीय] सेवेय, यद्वा यूयम् [महः] दश वीर्यरूपाः [स्थ] स्थ, अतो [वः] युष्माकं तद् [महः] वीर्यमहं [भक्षीय] सेवेय । तथा [ऊर्जः] गोक्षीरादे बल हेतुत्वादुपचारेण यूयं बलरूपाः [स्थ] स्थ, अतः [वः] युष्माकं प्रसादाद् [ऊर्जम्] बल [भक्षीय] सेवेय । एवं [रायस्पोषः] क्षीराज्यादि विक्रयेण धन वर्धनादुपचारेण धन पुष्टिरूपाः [स्थ] स्थ, अतः [वः] युष्माकं प्रसादाद् [रायस्पोषम्] धन पुष्टिमहं [भक्षीय]

सेवेय ॥ १० ॥

"यथा गौ वै प्रतिधुक् तस्यै शृतं तस्यै शरस्त स्यै दधि तस्य मस्तु तस्या आतञ्चन तस्यै नवनीतं तस्यै घृत तस्यै आमीक्षा तस्यै वाजिनम्" इति श्रुत्युक्तानि दश वीर्याणि महः। प्रतिधुक तत्काल दुग्धम्। शृतमुष्णदुग्धम्। शरो दुग्ध मण्डः। मस्तु दधि रसः। आतञ्चनं दधि पिण्डः। आमोक्षा स्फुटितं दुग्धम्। वाजिनमामीक्षा जलम्।

रेवती रमध्व मस्मिन् योना वस्मिन् गोष्ठे, ऽस्मि ल्लोके, ऽस्मिन्क्षयं, इहैव स्त मापगात ॥११॥

हे [रेवतीः] रेवत्य ! हे धनवत्यो गावः ! यद्वोदक्षय [अस्मिन] अस्मिन् अग्निहोत्र हवि दोहनोपयोगिनि [योनौ] स्थाने [रमध्वम्] सञ्चार प्रदेशे विहरत। [अस्मिन] यजमान-सम्बन्धिनि [गोष्ठे] गोवाटे [रमध्वम्] विहरत। [अस्मिन] यजमान दृष्टिविषये (लोके) बहिः सञ्चार प्रदेशे (रमध्वम) विहरत। रात्रौ वा (अस्मिन) अस्मिन (क्षये) यजमान गृहे (रमध्वम्) विहरत। तदेव विहरण प्रदेशानुपलभ्य प्रयुक्तावरोध क्लेशां युष्माक न सम्भविष्य त त्यक्तो यूयम् (इहैव) यजमान सन्निधौ (स्त) तिष्ठत, (मा अपगात) अन्यत्र न गच्छत ॥ ११ ॥

"पशवो वै रेवन्तः" इति श्रुतिः (श० २।३।४।२६)।

अथ गामालभमानो ब्रूते।

संहितासि विश्वरूप्यूर्जा माविश गौपत्येन। १२॥

हे गौः! त्वम् (विश्वरूपी) शुक्लकृष्णादि बहुरूपा (संहिता) क्षाराज्यादि हविर्दानाय यज्ञकर्मभिः संयुक्ता (असि) असि सा त्व (ऊर्जा) क्षीराज्यादिरसेन (गौपत्येन) गोस्वामित्वेन च (मा) माम् (आविश) सर्वतः प्रविश—त्वत्प्रसादान्मे बहुविधा रसा गोस्वामित्वं च सम्पद्यताम॥ १२॥

अथ गार्हपत्योपस्थान मन्त्राः।

अतः पर गार्हपत्याग्नि गत्वोपतिष्ठते—

उपत्वाग्ने दिवे दिवे दोषावस्तर्धिया वयम्।
नमो भरन्त एमसि॥१॥
राजन्तमध्वराणां गोपामृतस्य दीदिवम्।
वर्धमानं स्वे दमे॥२॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने! हे [दोषावस्तः] रात्रौ वसनशील! गार्हपत्ये [वयम्] यजमानाः [धिया] श्रद्धायुक्तया बुद्ध्या [नमः] नमस्कारम् [भरन्तः] आवहन्तः [दिवे दिवे] प्रतिदिनम् [त्वा] त्वाम् [उप+एमसि] उपैमः—त्वा प्रत्यागच्छामः॥ १॥ किञ्च—

[राजन्तम्] दीप्यमानम् [अध्वराणाम्] यज्ञानाम् [गोपाम्] गोप्तारम् ऋतस्य सत्यलक्षणव्रतस्य [दीदिवम्] दीपयितारम् [स्वे] मदीये निजे [दमे] गृहे [वर्धमानम्] चातुर्मास्य सोम पश्वादिभि रभिवृद्धिं गच्छन्तं त्वामुपैमः॥ २॥

स नः पितेव सूनवेऽग्ने सूपायनो भव ।
सचस्वा नः स्वस्तये ॥३॥

हे [अग्ने] अग्ने गार्हपत्य ! [सः] ईदृश गुण युक्तस्त्वम् (नः) अस्माकम् (सूपायनः) सुखेनापैतुं शक्यः (भव) भव, (इव) यथा (पिता) पिता (सूनवे) पुत्राय निर्भयमुपगम्यते । किञ्च—(नः) अस्माकम् (स्वस्तये) क्षेमाय (सचस्व) कर्मणि समवेतो भव—यथा पिता पुत्रस्य कल्याणे व्याप्रतो भवति दुःखादि त्राणाय च तै निःशङ्कमाश्रीयते तथैव त्वमस्मदर्थे भवेत्याह ॥ ३ ॥

अग्ने त्वं नो अन्तम उत त्राता शिवो भवा वरूथ्यः ॥१॥
वसुरग्निर्वसुश्रवा अच्छा नक्षि द्युमत्तमं रयिं दाः ॥२॥

हे (अग्ने) अग्ने गार्हपत्य ! (त्वम्) त्वम् (नः) अस्माकम् (अन्तमः) समीपवर्ती (भवा) भव (उत) अपिच (त्राता) पालयिता (शिवः) शान्तः (वरूथ्यः) गृहाय हितः (भवा) भव ॥ १ ॥

हे अग्ने ! त्वम् (वसुः अग्निः) जनानां वासयिता वसु नामकोऽग्निरसि (वसुश्रवा) धनेन कीर्तिमानसि, स त्वम् (अच्छा नक्षि) अभिव्याप्नुहि । यद्वा—हे (अच्छ) निर्मलाग्ने ! (नक्षि) अस्मदाश्रस्थान गच्छ । किञ्च—(द्युमत्तमम्) अति दीप्ति युक्तं (रयिम) धनम् (दाः) देहि ॥ २ ॥

तं त्वा शोचिष्ठ दीदिवः सुम्नाय नून
मीमहे सखिभ्यः ॥३॥

सनो बोधि श्रुधी हवमुरुष्याणो
अघायतः समस्मात् ॥४॥

हे (शोचिष्ट) दीप्तिमत्तम ! हे (दीदिवः) सर्वस्य दीपयितः ! (तम्) पूर्वोक्त गुणयुक्तम् (त्वा) त्वाम् (सखिभ्य) अथाय (सुम्नाय) सुखाय (नूनम्) निश्चयेन (ईमहे) याचामहे, यद्वा—(सुम्नाय) सुखार्थं (सखिभ्यः) अस्मत सखीनामुपकाराय च (त्वा) त्वाम् (ईमहे) याचामहे ॥ ३ ॥

(स) स त्वम् (नः) अस्मात् (बोधि) बुध्यस्व, तथा ऽस्मदीयं (हवम्) आह्वानं (श्रधि) शृणु, (समस्मात्) सर्वस्मात् (अघायतः) शत्रोः (नः) अस्मान् (उरुष्य) परिरक्ष ॥ ४ ॥

अथ गां गच्छति—

इड एह्यदित एहि । काम्या एत,
मयि वः कामधरणं भूयात् ॥१७॥

हे (इडे) इडे ! (एहि) आगच्छ, हे (अदिते) अदिते ! [एहि] आगच्छ होमस्थानम् । अतिदेशोऽयम् । हे गौः ! इडायथा मनु तथा त्वमस्मानेहि । अदितिर्यथा आदित्यान् तथा त्वमस्मानेहि । अथगामालभमानो ब्रूते—

हे [काम्याः] सर्वैः काम्यितव्याः गावः ! यूयम् [एत] आगच्छत [वः] युष्माकम् [कामधरणम्] अपेक्षित फलधारकत्वम् [मयि] मयि [भूयात्] भूयात्—युष्मत् प्रसादादहमभीष्टफलधारयिता भूयासम् । यद्वा—मयि युष्माकमनुरागस्थितिर्भूयात् । तथा च श्रुतिः—'अहं वः प्रियो भूयासम्' ।

इडा मनोर्दुहिता। अदिति देवमाता।

सोमानं स्वरणं कृणुहि ब्रह्मणस्पते।

कक्षीवन्त य औशिजः ॥१८॥

हे [ब्रह्मणस्पते] वेदस्य पालक ! [यः] यः [औशिजः] उशिजो गर्भजातस्य दीर्घ तमसः औरसः पुत्रः तम [कक्षीवन्तम्] कक्षीवन्तम ऋषिम् [सोमानम] अभिषोतारम् [स्वरणम्] शब्दयितारम् [कृणुहि] कुरु। अतिदेशोऽयम्। कक्षीवन्तमिव मा म नय गकर्तार स्तोतार च कुरु।

यो रेवान योऽमीवहा वसुवित् पुष्टिवर्धनः।

स नः सिषक्तु यस्तुरः ॥१९॥

[यः] यो ब्रह्मणस्पतिः [रेवान] धनवान [यः] यश्च [अमीवहा] रोगाणहन्ता [वसुवित] धन ज्ञाता [पुष्टिवर्धनः] पोषकः [यः] यश्च [तुरः] वेगशीलाऽविलम्बितकारी [सः] स ब्रह्मणस्पतिः [नः] अस्मान् [सिषक्तु] सेवताम्।

यद्वा—[रेवान] धनवान् [अमीवहा] व्याधिहन्ता [वसुवित्] धनोपार्जकः [पुष्टिवर्धनः] पोषकः [तुरः] शीघ्रकारी च पुत्रः [नः] अस्मान (सिषक्तु) सेवताम्।

मा नः शंसो अररुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्त्यस्य।

रक्षाणो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥२०॥

हे (ब्रह्मणस्पते) ब्रह्मणस्पते ! (नः) अस्मान (रक्ष) रक्ष येन कदाचिदपि (अररुषः) हविर्दानमकृतवतो (मर्त्यस्य) मनुष्यस्य (शंस) अनिष्ट चिन्तनम द्रोहोवा (धूर्तिः) हिंसा च

(न) अस्मान (मा प्रणक) न व्याप्नुयात्—न नाशयेत् । २०॥

रपौस रविवान् तस्याय प्रतिषेधः । शंसाऽनिष्ट चिन्तनम् । धूर्तिहिंसा ॥

महस्त्रीणामवोऽस्तु द्युक्षं मित्रस्यार्यम्णः ।
दुराधर्षं वरुणस्य ॥२१॥

(मित्रस्यार्यम्णो वरुणस्य) मित्रस्यार्यम्णो वरुणस्येति (त्रीणाम) त्रयाणा देवानाम् सम्बन्धो (महि) महत् (द्युक्षम) प्रकाशाश्रयम (दुराधर्षम) तिरस्कर्तुमशक्यम (अवः) रक्षणम (अस्तु) भवतु ॥ २१ ॥

न हि तेषाममा चन नाध्वसु वारणेषु ।
ईशे रिपुरघशंसः ॥२२॥

मताम (तेषाम) मित्र वरुणार्यम पालकानाम (हि) यत स्तावत् (न) न (वारणेषु) वारण प्रधानेषु (मार्गेषु) चोर व्याघ्रादि भयाढ्येषु मार्गेषु गच्छतां अपि वा (अमाचन) गृहेष्वपि (अघशंस) घातकः (रिपुः) रिपु (ईशे) प्रभवति । मित्रादिभिः पालितानामस्माक गृहेऽरण्ये वा नास्ति शत्रुबाधः ॥ २२ ॥

ते हि पुत्रासो अदितेः प्र जीवसे मर्त्याय ।
ज्योतिर्यच्छन्त्यजस्रम् ॥२३॥

(हि) यत. (ते) मित्रार्यमवरुणाः (अदितेः) अखण्डितशक्ते देवमातुः (पुत्रासः) पुत्राः (मर्त्याय) मनुष्याय यजमानाय (जीवसे) जीवितुम (अजस्रम) निरन्तर मनुपक्षीणम् (ज्योतिः)

तेजः (प्रयन्छन्ति) प्रयच्छन्ति ततो न पूर्वोक्तः शत्रुबाधः ॥२३॥

अयं तृचः पथि जप्य उपद्रवनाशको भवति।

कदाचन स्तरी रसि नेन्द्र सश्चसि दाशुषे ।

उपोपेन्नु मघवन् भूयइन्नुते दानं देवस्य पृच्यते ॥२४॥

हे (इन्द्र) परमैश्वर्ययुक्त ! त्वं (कदाचन) कदापि (स्तरीः) हिंसकः (न) न (असि) असि (नु) किन्तु (दाशुषे) हविर्दत्तवन्तं यजमानम् (सश्चसि) सेवसे । हे (मघवन् धनवन् ! (देवस्य) प्रकाशमानस्य (ते) तव (भूयः) बहुतरम् (इत) एव (दानम्) दानम् (नु) क्षिप्रम् (इत) एव दाश्वांसम् (उपोप पृच्यते) उपगच्छति । न कदाचित् यजमानं प्रति क्रुध्यसि, सेवसे च त, त्वदीयं भूयो धनं दाश्वांसमुपगच्छति इत्यर्थ ॥ २४ ॥

इवे नार्थो नु क्षिप्रार्थ ॥

तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।

धियो योनः प्रचोदयात् ॥२५।

(तत्) तस्य (सवितुः) सर्वप्रेरकस्य (देवस्य) देवस्य (*वरेण्यम्*) *आराध्य वीर्यम्* (*धीमहि*) ध्यायामः (*यः*) यः (*नः*) अस्माकं (*धियः*) बुद्धीः कर्माणि वा (*प्रचोदयात्*) *प्रेरयति* ॥ २५ ॥

"वरुणाद्ध वा अभिषिषिचानाद् भर्गोऽपचक्राम । वीर्यं वै भर्गः" इति श्रुतिः (श० ५ । ४ । ५ । १) ।

मण्डल पुरुषा रश्मयः इत्यपि त्रयं भर्ग शब्दाभिधेयम् ।

परि ते दूडभो रथोऽस्मानश्नोतु विश्वतः ।
येन रक्षसि दाशुषः ॥२६॥

हे अग्ने ! (दूडभः) दुर्दभः केनापि सहसा हिंसितु मशक्यः (ते) तव (रथः) रथः अस्मान् (परि) सर्वतः (अश्नोतु) आप्नोतु (येन) रथेन त्वं (दाशुषः) यजयामानान् (रक्षसि) पालयसि ॥ २६ ॥

"यजमाना वै दाश्वांसः" इति श्रुतिः (२।३।४।१८) ॥

इति बृहदुपस्थानं समाप्तम् ।

अथ क्षुल्लकोपस्थानम् । आसुरि दृष्टम् ॥

भूर्भुवः स्वः—सुप्रजाः प्रजाभिः स्यां सुवीरो
वीरैः सुपोषः पोषैः ॥१॥

हे अग्ने ! गार्हपत्य ! आहवनीय ! वा त्वं (भूर्भुवः स्वः) व्याहृतित्रयात्मकः लोक त्रयात्मको वाऽसि, अतस्त्वत्प्रसादादहं (प्रजाभिः) बन्धुभृत्यादि रूपाभिः कृत्वा (सुप्रजाः) सुप्रजाः (स्याम्) भवेयम्, तथा (वीरैः) पुत्रैः (सुवीरः) सुपुत्रवान् (स्याम्) भवेयम्, एवम् पोषैः पोषक सामग्रीभिर्हिरण्यादिद्रव्यैः (सुपोषः) सुपुष्ट (स्याम्) भवेयम् ॥ १ ॥

नर्य प्रजां मे पाहि, शंस्य पशून्मे पाहि,
अथर्य पितुं मे पाहि ॥२॥

अथ यजमानो यदि ग्रामान्तरं गन्तुमिच्छति तदानीं सर्वानग्नीनुपतिष्ठेत् तदिदं प्रवत्स्यदुपस्थानमुच्यते।

तथाहि—

हे (नर्य) नरेभ्यो हित गार्हपत्य ! (मे) मम (प्रजाम्) प्रजाम (पाहि) रक्ष । हे (शम्य) अनुष्ठातृभिः प्रशसनीय आहवनीय ! (मे) मम (पशून्) पशून (पाहि) रक्ष । हे (अथर्य) सतत गार्हपत्यात् स्वस्थान प्रति गमनशील दक्षिणाग्ने ! (मे) मम (पितुम्) अन्नम (पाहि) रक्ष ॥ २ ॥

अथ प्रत्यावृत्तः समित्पाणिः कश्चिदपि जनमगत्वैव प्रथममेवाग्न्यागारं प्राप्य आहवनीय गार्हपत्य दक्षिणाग्नीन् प्रत्येकमुपतिष्ठेत् इत्यग्न्युपस्थानमुच्यते। तत्र तावदाहवनीयमुपतिष्ठते—

आगन्म विश्ववेदस मस्मभ्यं वसु वित्तमम् ।
अग्ने सम्राडभि द्युम्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ॥१॥

हे (अग्ने) अग्ने। हे (सम्राट्) सम्राट्! आहवनीय ! (विश्ववेदसम्) सर्वज्ञम् सर्वधन वा (अस्मभ्यम्) अस्मदर्थम् (वसुवित्तमम्) अतिशयेन धनस्यलब्धार त्वा द्रष्टु वय ग्रामान्तरात् (आगन्म) प्रत्यागताः स्म स त्वम् अस्मभ्यम (द्युम्नम्) यशः (सहः) बलं च (अभ्यायच्छस्व) देहि ॥ १ ॥

अथ गार्हपत्य मुपतिष्ठते—

अयमग्नि र्गृहपति र्गार्हपत्यः प्रजाया वसु वित्तमः ।
अग्ने गृहपतेऽभिद्युम्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ॥ २ ॥

[अयम्] पुरोऽवस्थितः [अग्नि] अग्निः [गार्हपत्यः] गार्हपत्य [गृहपतिः] गृहस्य पालकोऽस्ति [प्रजायाः] पुत्रपौत्र-

दिकायै अनुग्रहार्थं [वसुवित्तमः] अतिशयेन धनस्य लब्धा भवति त याचे - हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! हे [गृहपते] गृहपते गार्हपत्य । स त्वं [द्युम्नम्] यशः [सहः] बल च [अभ्याय-च्छस्व देहि ।। २ ।।

एवं दक्षिणाग्निमुपतिष्ठते--

अयमग्निः पुरीष्यो रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्धन ।

अग्ने पुरीष्याभि द्युम्नमभि सह आयच्छस्व ।। ३ ।।

[अयम्] अयम् [अग्निः] अग्निः [पुरीष्यः] पशव्यः [रयिमान्] धनवान् [पुष्टिवर्धनः] पुष्टि वर्धयिता च त याचे हे [अग्ने] अग्ने ! हे [पुरीष्य] पशुहित ! दक्षिणाग्ने ! अस्मभ्यं [द्युम्नम्] यशः [सह] बल च [अभ्यायच्छस्व] देहि ॥ ३ ।

"पशवो वै पुरीषम्" इति श्रुतिः ।

अथैवं ग्रामान्तरादागतो गृहानुपैति--

गृहा मा बिभीत मावेपध्वमूर्जं बिभ्रत एमसि ।

ऊर्जं बिभ्रद्वः सुमनाः सुमेधा गृहानैमि मनसा मोदमानः ।। १ ।।

हे [गृहाः] गृहाः पालको यजमानो गत इति [मा बिभीत] भय मा कुरुत कोऽपि शत्रुरागत्य विनाशयिष्यतीति बुध्या [मा वेपध्वम्] कम्प मा कार्ष्ट अतोवय [ऊर्जम्] ऊर्जं [बिभ्रतः] धारयमाणानेव युष्मान् [एमसि] आगताः स्म, यथा यूयमूर्जं बिभ्रतः तथाऽहमपि [ऊर्जं] ऊर्जं [बिभ्रद्]

धारयन [सुमना:] सुप्रसन्न [सुमेधा] सुष्टुधारणा प्रज्ञोपेत: [मनसा] दुःख रहितेन मनसा [मोदमान:] हृष्यन [व:] युष्मान [एमि] प्रत्यागच्छामि ॥ १ ॥

येषा मध्येति प्रवसन् येषु सौमनसो बहुः, गृहानुप ह्वयामहे ते नो जानन्तु जानतः ॥ २ ॥

अथ [प्रवसन] देशान्तरं गच्छन यजमान [येषाम] यान् गृहान् [अध्येति] स्मरति [एषु] एषु च गृहेषु यजमानस्य [बहु:] अति शयित: [सौमनस:] प्रेमा तान् [गृहान] गृहान् वयम् [उपह्वयामहे] आह्वयाम: [ते] वास्तु देवा: आहूता: सन्त: [जानत:] उपकाराभिज्ञान [न:] अस्मान [जानन्तु] जानन्तु ॥ २ ॥

उपहूता इव गाव, उपहूता अजावय', अथो अन्नस्य कीलालं उपहूतो गृहेषु नः, क्षेमाय वः शान्त्यै प्रपद्ये, शिवं शग्मं शंयोः शंयोः ॥ ३ ॥

अस्माक गृहेष्वेतेषु [गाव:] धेनवा बलीवर्दाश्च [उपहूता इव] सुखेनाव स्थानाय मप्रत्यस्माभि रनुज्ञाता खलु। एवमेव [अजावय] छागा मेषाश्च [उपहूता:] अत्र अवस्थानाय उपहूता:। [अथ उ] अपिच [अन्नस्य] अन्न सम्बन्धी [कीलाल:] रसविशेषोऽपि [न: गृहेषु] अस्मदीय गृहेषु [उपहूत:] समृद्धो भवतु इत्येवमनुज्ञातम हे गृहा: ! [क्षेमाय] विद्यमान वस्तु सरक्षणार्थ क्षेमाय [शान्त्यै] सर्वारिष्ट शमनाय च [व:] युष्मान् [प्रपद्ये] प्रपद्ये अत: [शिवम्] कल्याणं कामयमानस्य [शंयो] शग्मम ऐहिक सुखम [शंयो: शग्मम]

आमुष्मिकं च सुखं भूयात् ॥ ३ ॥

शंयु र्नाम ऋषिः । अभ्याशः संपूर्तिसूचनार्थः मङ्गलातिशयार्थश्च इति शिवम् ॥ इत्युपस्थान मन्त्रा ॥

आधान होमोपस्थाने स्त्रिभिः प्रकरणैरयम् ।
त्रिपञ्चाशान्मितै र्मन्त्रै रग्नि होत्राधिकारकः ॥ ४ ॥
आहवनीयं नवभि स्त्रिभिरयग्नीं गार्हपत्यंतु ।
सप्तभिरयणां द्वाभ्यां नवभिस्तु ब्रह्मणस्पतिकम् ॥ १ ॥
पञ्चभिरग्नीं स्त्रिभिरयगृहानुपास्ते ह्युपस्थाने ।
क्षुल्लकमष्टकमन्त्यं बृहदन्यत त्रिंशता क्रमम् ॥ २ ॥
आधान मष्टभि र्होमः सप्तभि त्रिंशता बृहत् ।
उपस्थानं क्षुल्लकं तु मन्त्रैरष्टाभिरिष्यते ॥ ३ ॥

Consul conducted by virtue of religious power inherited by him from the kings The Consul could also if he wished bring the people together less formally to hear his report on affairs of State, to prepare them for the decisions to be requested from them a little later in their formal voting assembly, to explain administrative tasks to them and to get their help in taking the census, for instance Such an informal meeting was called a *contio* to distinguish it from the formal assembly or *comitia* In those days, long before the development of newspapers and radio, the *contio* was the only direct method of political education and enlightenment at the disposal of the Roman people They were able, in a *contio*, to ask questions

The public assemblies summoned to consider proposed changes in the law were much more in the Consul's hands The citizens were summoned to hear his proposals and to say 'yes' or 'no' to them without debate The Consul would previously have got the Senate's agreement to the way in which the matter was to be laid before the public, so his own part in the proceedings was fairly well determined for him in advance Nevertheless his must have been an exacting and strenuous duty It was no light task to mediate between a supposedly sovereign people and a supreme deliberative assembly, particularly when that assembly, the Roman Senate, did not depend upon popular votes for its existence.

If the people took a violent dislike to a Consul they could attack him through their Tribunes He could not be put on trial before the people while still in office, but he could be compelled to abdicate and then be tried If he came to trial his judges would have been Senators until 122 B C., when Gaius Gracchus gave the business men judicial privileges. There was no regular method of calling him to give an account of his year's work, although it was customary for the retiring Consul to address the people on laying down his office Cicero was very grieved, and rightly so, when his political opponents put up a Tribune to forbid him to speak to the people after his momentous year as Consul in 63 B C

Consuls possessed very much greater powers outside Rome, especially in time of war For the Consuls were the Commanders-in-Chief and in the many wars of the Republic they were in the field at the head of the Roman army Wars were frequent and they immensely strengthened the Consuls' power. 'Men do not

rashly resist the powers of the Consuls,' said the Greek historian Polybius at the time of the Second Punic War, 'because one and all may become subject to their absolute authority on a campaign.' The Romans certainly could not be accused of any lack of faith in the democratic principle of choosing their leaders by election. They committed supreme command, for the short space of a year at a time, to two men who were supposed to combine the gift of political leadership with the skill in war on land or sea of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The surprising thing is not the failure which this apparently rash proceeding involved, but the extent of its success. The failures were serious enough.

The principle of alternate rule still held good in war as in peace. When the two Consuls were both with the army, unless they could agree between themselves which should be Commander-in-Chief, the almost farcical situation developed in which one Consul commanded on one day and the other the next day. It seems highly probable that the battle of Cannae (216 B.C.), a defeat which very nearly brought the State to ruin, was lost mainly because of this divided command. Later, Rome had sufficient armies in the field to provide each Consul with an independent command of his own, so that particular difficulty ceased to occur.

Supreme though they were in the field, they did not themselves raise troops or lead them out to fight without the authority of the Senate. 'Without a decree of the Senate', said Polybius, 'they can be supplied neither with corn nor clothes nor pay, so that all the plans of a Commander must be futile if the Senate is resolved either to shrink from danger or hamper his plans.'

Leaders of Rome, the Consuls were at first necessarily chosen exclusively from patrician families. To break down this tradition and to secure election to the consulship was an obvious ambition for every plebeian as their class gained in wealth. Before they could succeed, however, they had to overcome deep-rooted jealousy founded on established customs and rights. Religious scruples which the patricians either felt or imagined that they felt on the subject of plebeians performing State ceremonies seem also to have been made an obstacle. The gods, it was argued, would either not respond or else react vindictively towards any pollution of Roman religious observances by plebeians. The second team of *decemvirs* in 450 B.C. (p. 197) no doubt on this

ground forbade marriage between patrician and plebeian, because a plebeian could not meddle with the religious ceremonies carried out every day before the domestic altar in the home of every Roman patrician

The plebeians attacked both their exclusion from the consulship and the marriage bar The patricians put up a determined fight and gave way piecemeal only when they saw that resistance was hopeless In 445 B C they yielded on the marriage question It was the least dangerous concession, because Roman law gave patrician fathers absolute power over their sons and daughters. Their exclusiveness served them ill and was the main cause of their steady decline in numbers

After accepting the possibility of acquiring plebeian sons-in-law or daughters-in-law, the patricians strove in vain to preserve their monopoly of the consulship, but they were forced to a compromise Sooner than allow a plebeian to sit in a Consul's seat they changed the name of the office whenever there were plebeians to fill it

Instead of the two Consuls, the Senate was to decide that a varying number of three to eight mixed patrician and plebeian 'military tribunes with consular powers' were to serve (444 B C) This arrangement lasted for seventy-seven years (until 367 B C) Very few plebeians enjoyed this honour The patricians gave away as little as they could and some of the Consuls' powers were taken away to create the new office of Censor to which patricians alone were admissible

The Censors

Taking the census, or numbering the people, was one of the chief duties of the Consuls, but it was one they had tended to neglect in the many other preoccupations of their office From early times some strong superstitions seem to have been attached in the public mind to any form of census, each of which had to be followed by a solemn 'purification' Being of a religious nature it would have been a ceremony which plebeians could not conduct When therefore the patricians agreed to a change in the Consul's office in 445 B C, they sought at the same time to create a new monopoly for themselves in the office of Censor. Two Censors were appointed in 444 B C and thereafter Their main duty was

to take a census every five years, and to use its results to reshape the political organization of the Roman Republic The task did not take them five years, but about eighteen months, the length of time for which they themselves held office However, there was no need for a more frequent census, so there was no point in holding more frequent elections for Censors Their duties, like the duties of the other magistrates, must have required a staff of clerks and assistants, but of them we know nothing It seems that the Censors, like the other magistrates, were expected to find their own clerks and assistants from their household slaves and freedmen There was no civil service under the Roman Republic The practical results of the census were of obvious and immediate importance to every Roman It discovered when he was of military age It found out what he owned and that helped to decide the army 'century' in which he should serve and vote (in the *comitia centuriata*) It did not automatically decide the matter because the Romans had no compunction about refusing to allow criminals or unworthy men to vote It was easier to pick out and exclude such men in a small City State, which Rome originally was, where the character of the citizens would be more easily and generally known, than it would be in the huge cities and States today

The Censors were also responsible after about 312 B C for keeping the register of the Senators. They were able to strike off the register any Senators who had broken the law or had been guilty of an offence against morality. The censors also had the powers formerly exercised by the kings and later by the Consuls of nominating men to fill vacancies in the Senate This tremendous power of saying whether a man was fit to be a Senator had consequences which influenced all the subsequent history of the Republic. For the Censors seem early to have given preference to men who had held a magistracy This not unnatural method of selection had the effect, however, of creating a new social class made up of the families of the men who had been magistrates These families later were to take the place of the old patrician families in the class divisions of the Roman State Except in matters of finance, where they let out State contracts for tax-collecting, for public works such as building and repairing aqueducts and for the use of national resources, the Censors did not intervene in shaping the policy of the State In Cicero's day the

office was suspended by the Dictator Sulla and Censors were no longer regularly elected between 82 and 70 B C Sulla saw to it that the number of ex-magistrates was then automatically sufficient to fill any vacancies which occurred in the Senate

The Quaestors

The Consuls were early provided with junior magistrates bearing the same title as military paymasters (Quaestors) to help with detailed administrative work Election to the office of Quaestor was the first stepping-stone in a political career As their title suggests, their duties were principally the business of supervising the collection of taxes and of making payments In addition to being custodians of the State's Treasury they kept many of the official records which were stored in it – copies of laws, decisions of the Senate, and other State documents They also had clerks and assistants, but if, as seems probable, they were provided by the State, we do not know how they were recruited or paid. Possessing no *imperium* or military powers, Quaestors did not have an escort of lictors. Neither were they elected by the same body of voters as the Consuls, but by the *comitia tributa* Plebeians were not eligible for the office until 421 B C. and none seem in fact to have been elected until 409 B C.

There were at first two Quaestors, but four were appointed after 421 B C and the number was later increased again Sulla raised the number to twenty each year and provided them with an automatic entry into the Senate By this means the Senate was kept up to strength

The Praetors and the Development of Roman Law

The Praetor was mainly, but not entirely, engaged in legal business The patricians created this new office in 367 B C, the year in which they were forced to agree to admitting plebeians to one of the two consular offices. They sought to counter-balance that new plebeian gain by setting up a new and influential magistracy reserved for members of their own class Their case was largely based upon plebeian ignorance of the law, a subject with which at first none but patrician priests and Consuls might meddle It was a thin pretext because there was no such thing as a

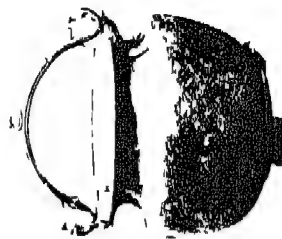
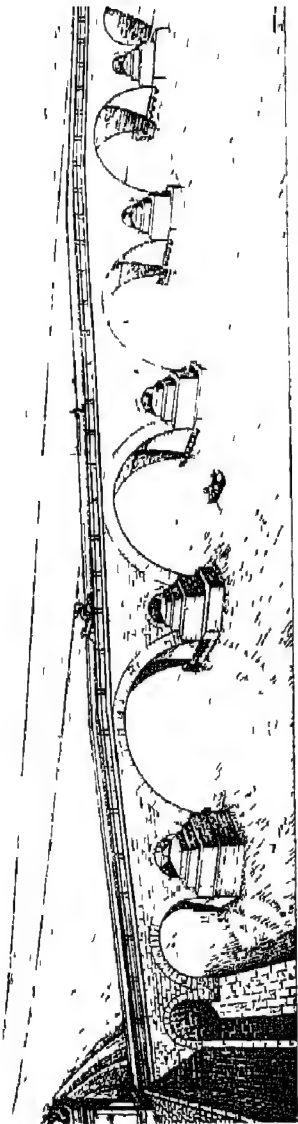
legal profession in those early days, and the men elected as Praetors were not chosen specially on account of their knowledge of the law After 367 B C , when the Consuls ceased to preside in the law courts, the Praetors took over most of that work After election by the assembly of the centuries for their year of office the Praetors began at some later period to declare the rules of law which they intended to follow During their year's service they would naturally have to make decisions upon disputed points of legal principle and practice In these two ways the Praetors laid down the law and so began the slow building of that great body of Roman law and Roman legal practice to which many countries today owe the core of their legal system Then also began the system of trial by judge and jury which has since done so much to guarantee the lives, liberty and property of Englishmen in particular and much of the rest of mankind in general

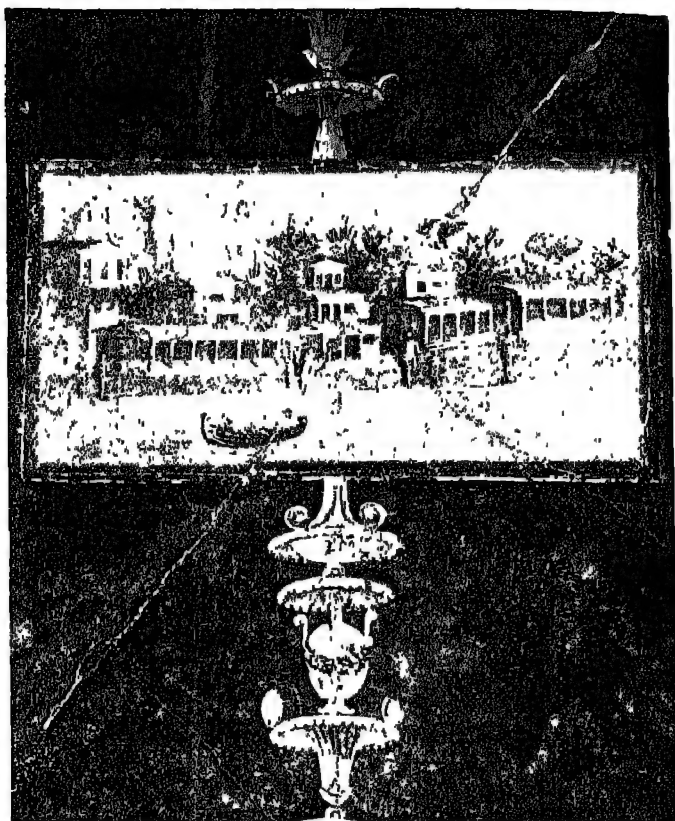
A more remarkable testimony to the Roman faith in law and due legal process as the right remedy for disputes was the creation in 242 B C of the office of second Praetor to deal with cases in which foreign residents and visitors to Rome were involved His title was *Praetor peregrinus* With the establishment of this new judge, the Romans laid the foundations for a new view of justice Instead of regarding their law as applicable only to Roman citizens, they extended it to protect private persons as such By recognizing the need to allow for the rights as well as the different customs of foreign peoples the Romans paid tribute to that Rule of Law, the elaboration of which is their greatest, because their most enduring, contribution to human civilization The fact that the United Nations of the twentieth century have had to rally all their forces in defence of this great principle of human progress against tyrannical totalitarian police-states, is the best measure of its meaning for human society

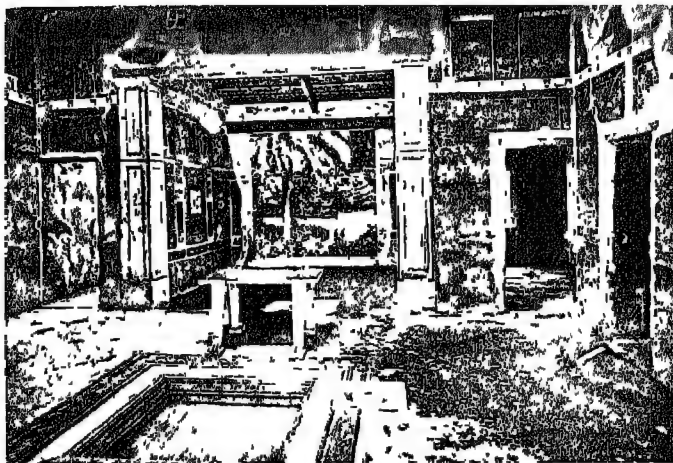
The Praetor, like the Consul, stood above all the other regular magistrates because the *imperium* was conferred upon him He was more than a judge He could, if necessary, owing to the absence of a Consul, take the Consul's place as convener and presiding officer of the Senate or assembly of the people He had an escort of two lictors, each carrying the axe and rods symbolic of the power of life and death He could, therefore, take a military command as no other magistrate except the Consul was empowered to do without special appointment Consequently

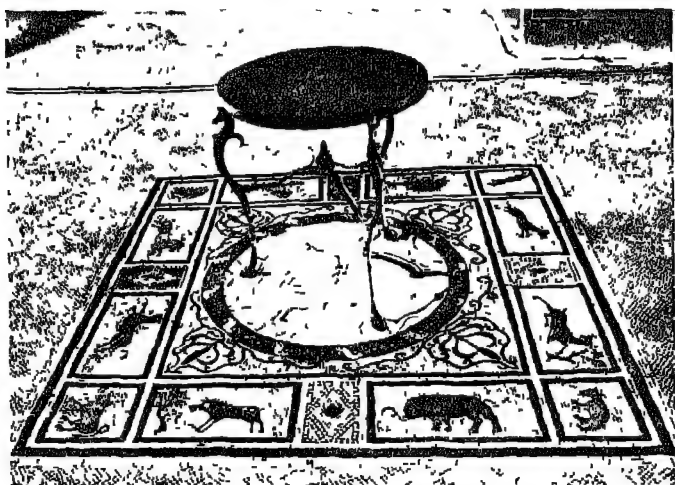
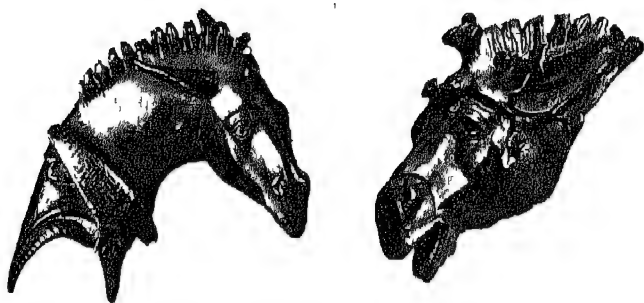
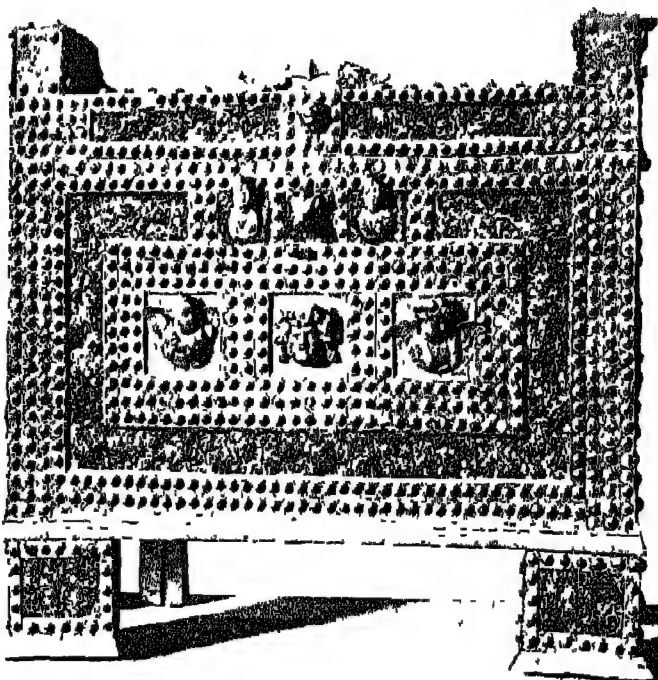
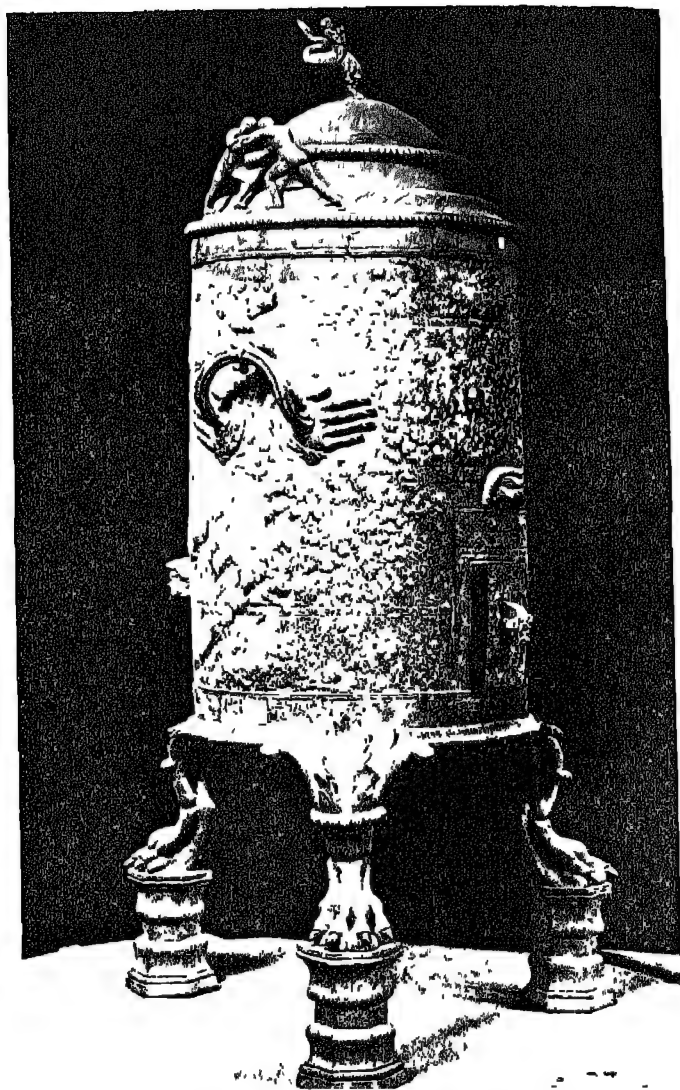
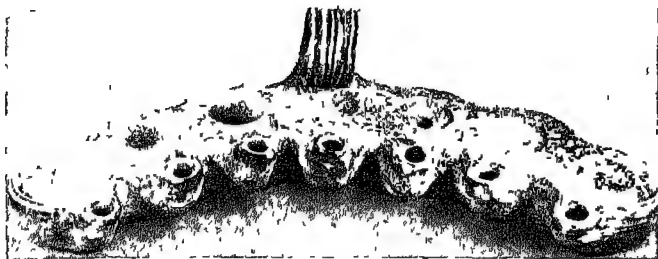
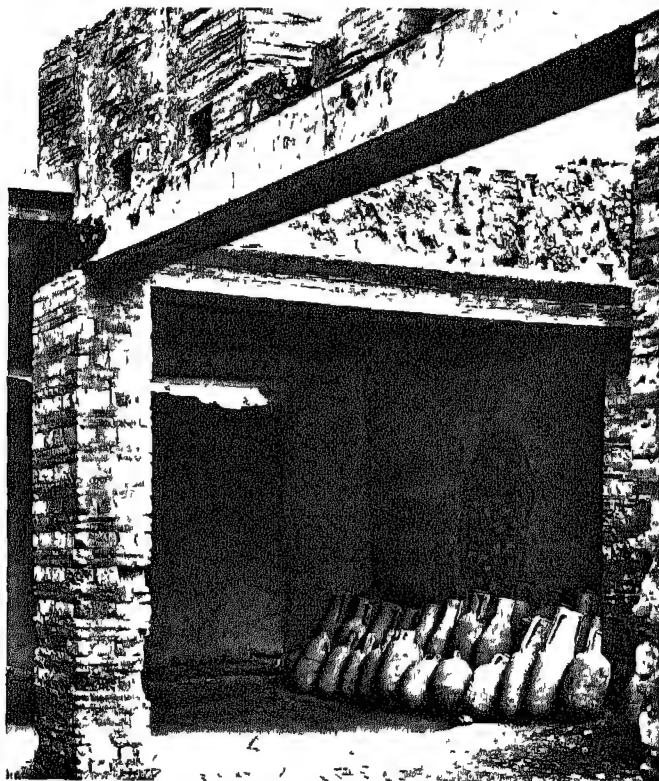
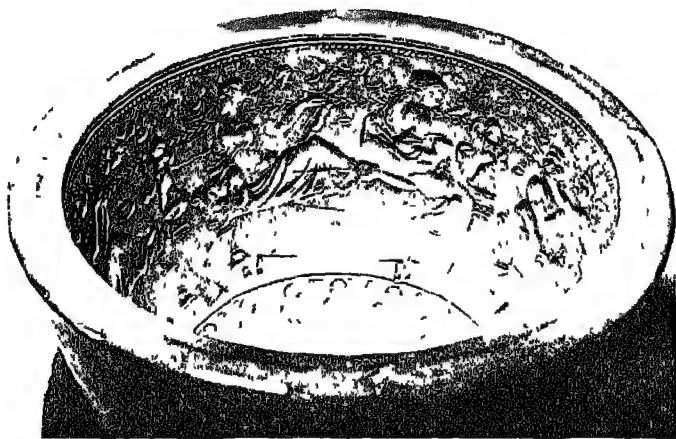
Inscribed Bust of Cicero 1st cent A D

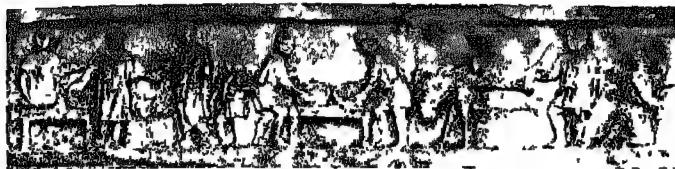
(*a*) Plough and Cart with Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Pigs 1st cent B C

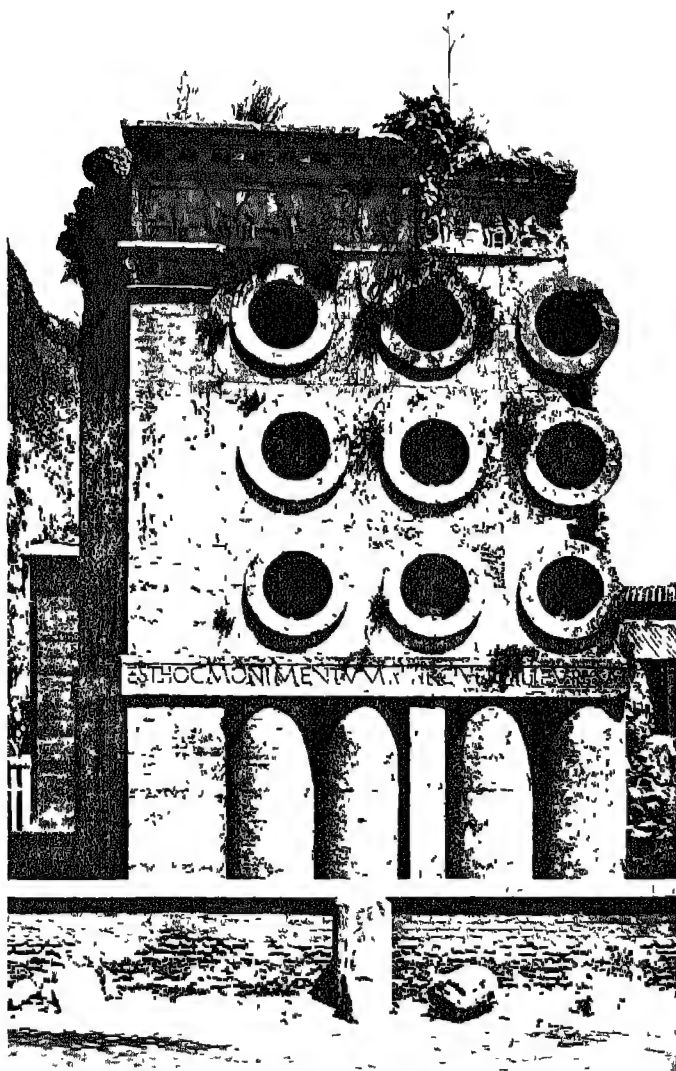
(*b*) Marble Relief showing Bronze Bucket

(*c*) Bronze Bucket

(*a*) Roman Engineering Pons Mulvius (reconstruction) river Tiber Built 109 B C

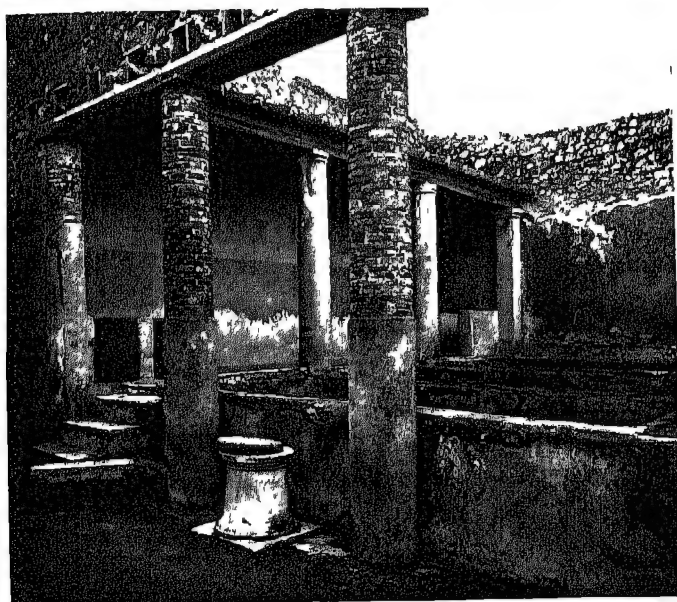
(*b*) Roman Warships Fresco painted between A D 63 and 79 Pompeii

Graeco-Roman Villas on a Waterfront Fresco c A D 63-79 Pompeii

(*a*) View from Atrium into Peristylium
Middle of 1st cent B C Pompeii

(*b*) Atrium with Impluvium in the Foreground
Early 1st cent A D Pompeii

(*a*) 'Cave Canem' (Beware of the Dog) Pompeii

(*b*) Bronze Table on Mosaic Floor Middle of 1st cent A D Pompeii

(*a*) Mules' Heads cast in Bronze *c* 40 B C

(*b*) Iron Chest Studded with Bronze Nails Before A D 79 Pompeii

Bronze Portable Stove or Water-Heater *c* 150 B C Pompeii

(*a*) Lamp for Seven Lights Baked clay Probably 1st cent B C

(*b*) Clay Storage Jars 1st cent A D Pompeii

(*a*) Mould for Glazed Red Pottery Bowl *c* 25–10 B C

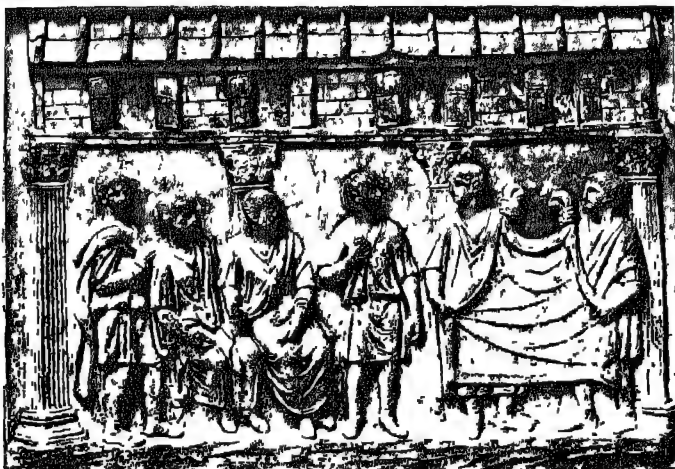
(*b*) Clay Stamp used to produce relief work as shown in plate (*a*) above

(*a*) Work in a Roman Bakery Relief on the tombs shown on plate 12

(*b*) Grain Mills and Baking Stove Before A D 79 Pompeii

Tomb of the Baker M Vergilius Eurysaces
1st cent B C to 1st cent A D Rome

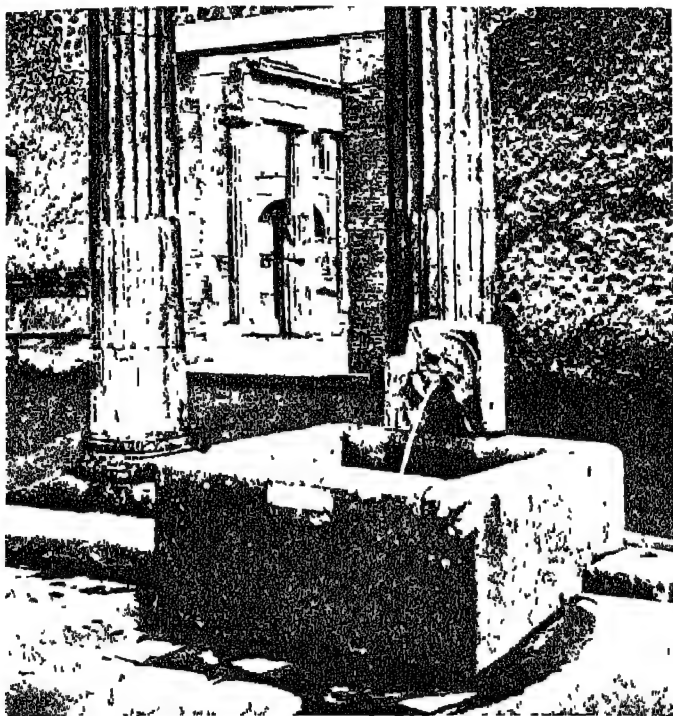
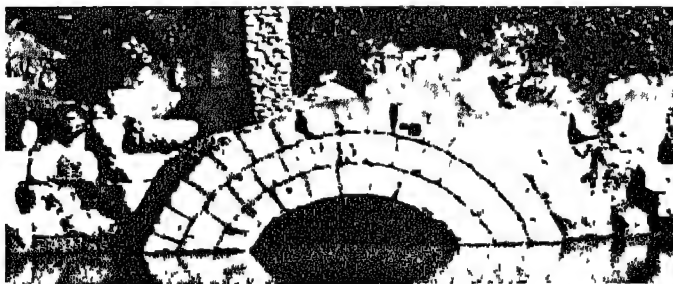
(*a*) Public Tavern Before A D 79 Pompeii

(*b*) A Fuller's Workshop Before A D 79 Pompeii

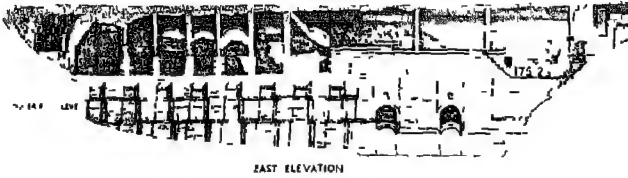
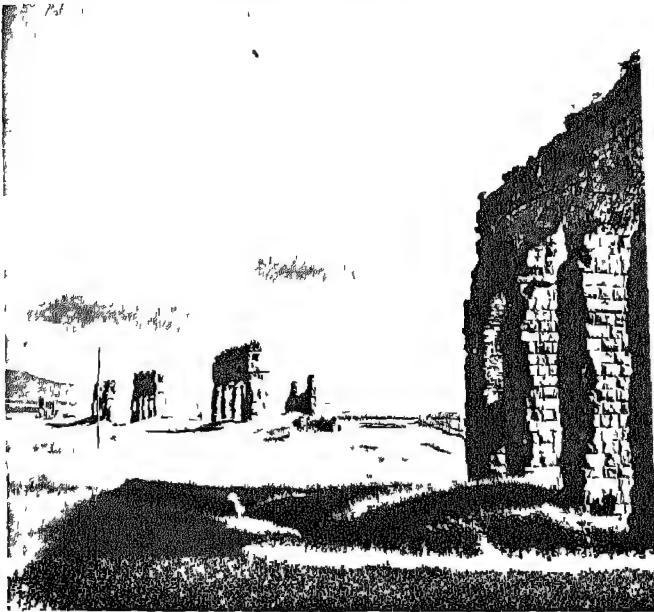
(*a*) Soldiers Receiving Release

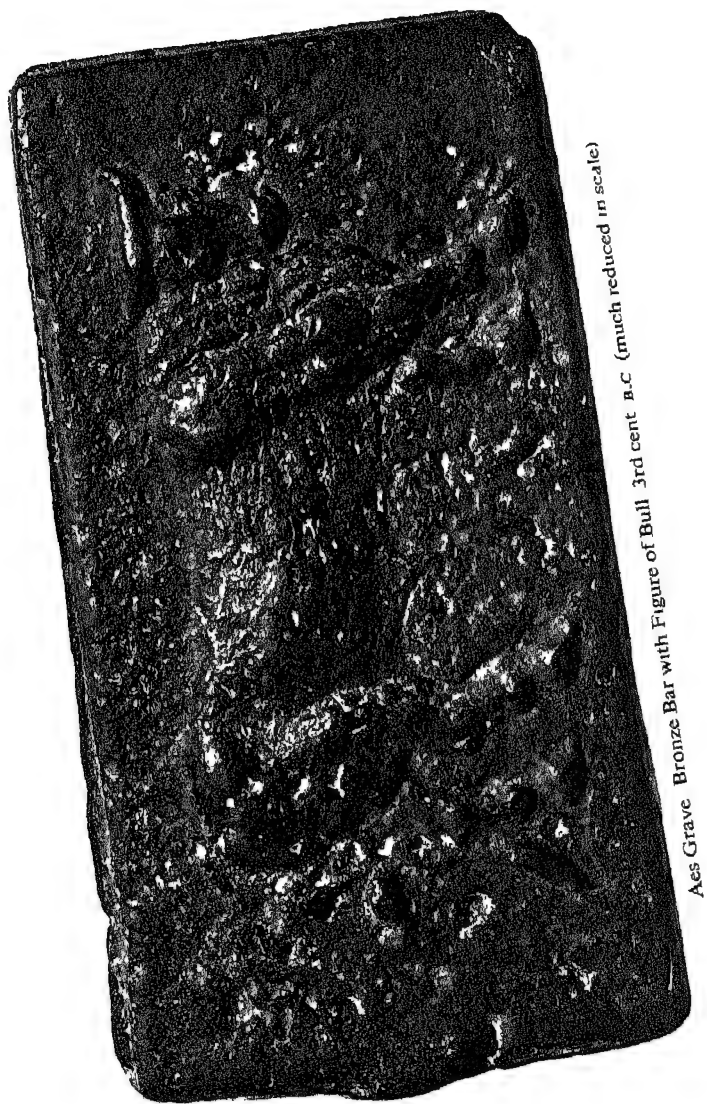
(*b*) and (*c*) Sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia From an Altar in memory of the First Battle of Philippi, 42 B C

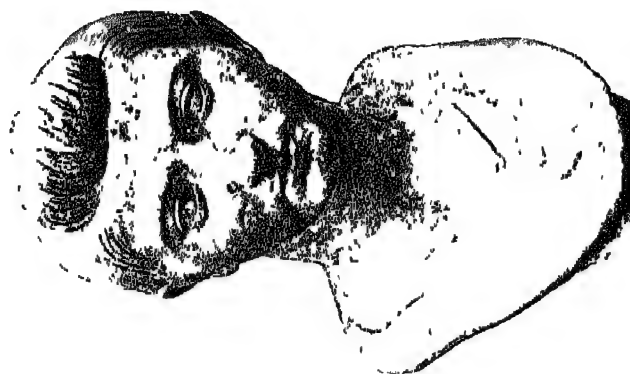
(*a*) Roman Draper's Shop Selling Cushions Middle of 1st cent B C

(*b*) Roman Draper's Shop Selling Cloth Middle of 1st cent B C

(*a*) Paved Street with Fountains Befoie A D 79 Pompeii

(*b*) Stepping Stones and Carriage Ruts Before A D 79 Pompeii

(*a*) Fountain at Entrance to the Market
Middle of 1st cent A.D., Pompeii

(*b*) Cloaca Maxima *c.* 100 B.C. Rome

AQUA MARCIA AT PONTE LUPO

(*a*) Roman Aqueduct Aqua Marcia Built 272 B C

(*b*) Arches of the Aqueduct of Claudius 1st cent A D

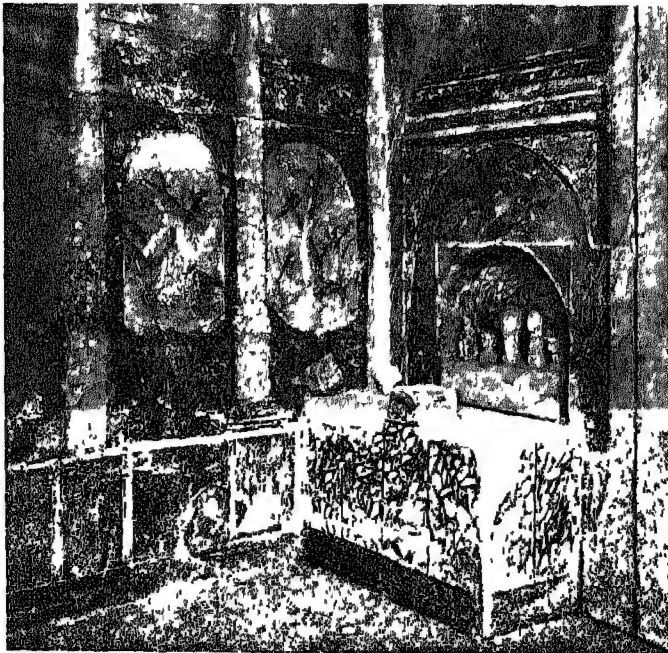
(*a*)–(*h*) Bronze Coinage of the Roman Republic, 268–240 B C
(*i*)–(*k*) Silver Coinage of the Roman Republic, *c* 88 B C
(*l*) Gold Coin of the Roman Republic, *c* 81 B C

Aes Grave Bronze Bar with Figure of Bull 3rd cent B.C (much reduced in scale)

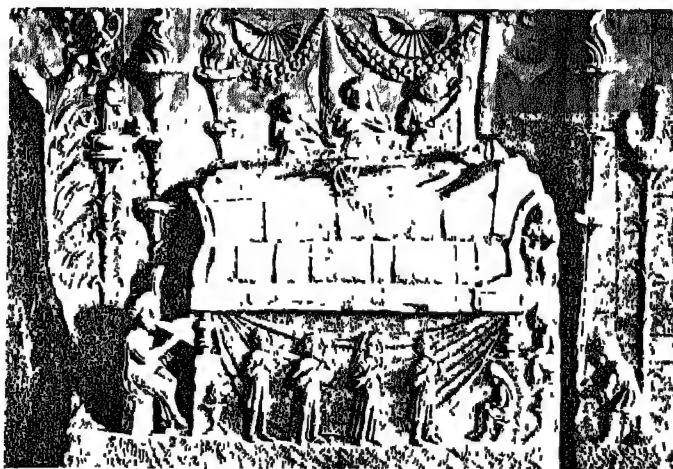
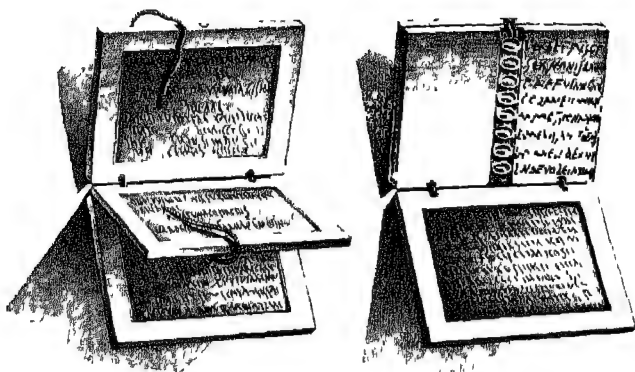
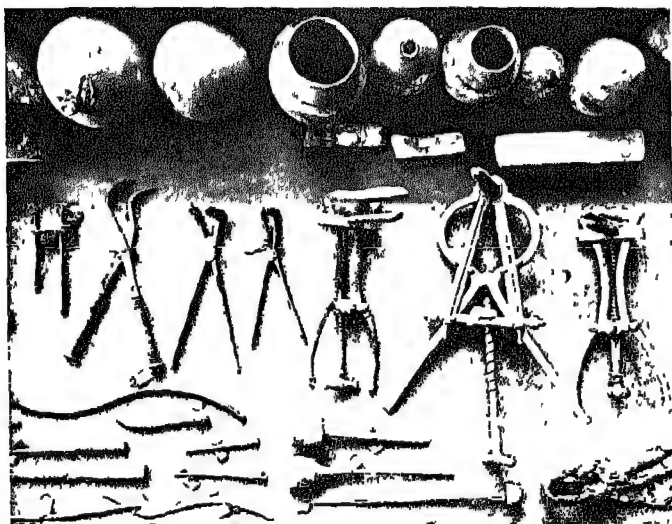
(*a*) A Young Roman

(*b*) A Young Roman Lady

(*a*) Elderly Roman Lady

(*b*) Old Roman

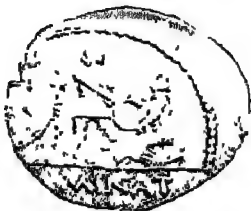
Roman Citizen with Busts of his Ancestors Augustan era

(*a*) Tombstone of the Butcher Aurelius Hermia 1st cent B C

(*b*) Ancestor Worship Altar of the Parentes Before A D 79 Pompeii

(*a*) Lar, God of the House 1st cent A D

(*b*) Ceremonial Mourning of a Lady 1st cent A D Rome

(*a*) A Roman Account Book from Pompeii Before A D 79

(*b*) Surgical Instruments from Pompeii Before A D 79

Pompey the Great

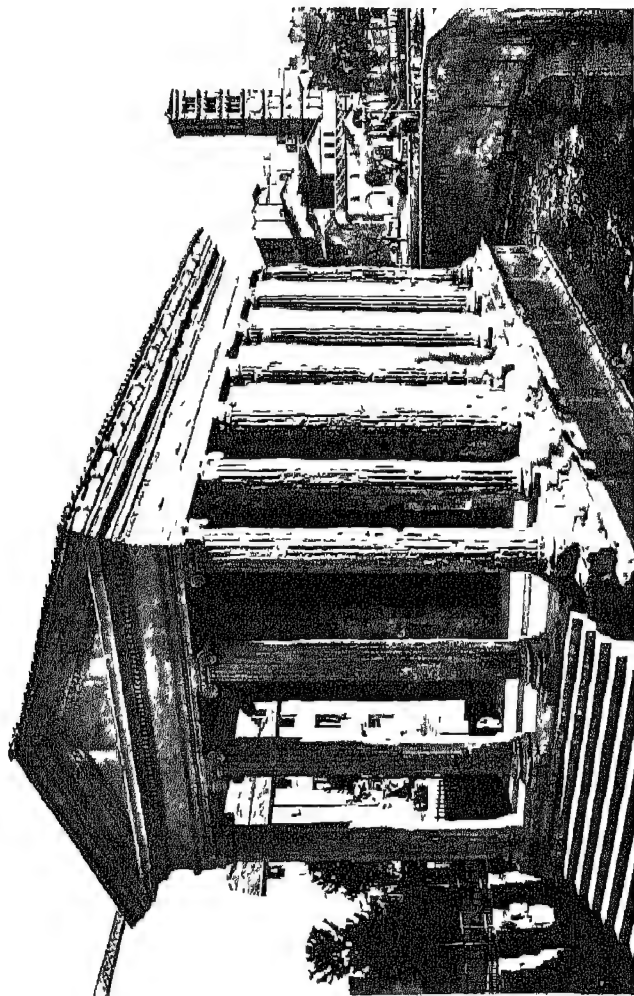
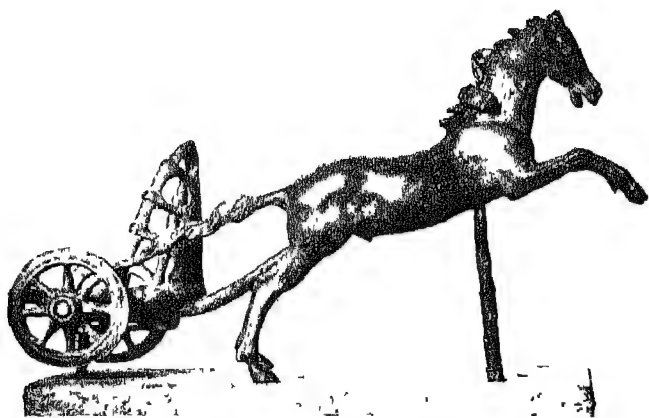
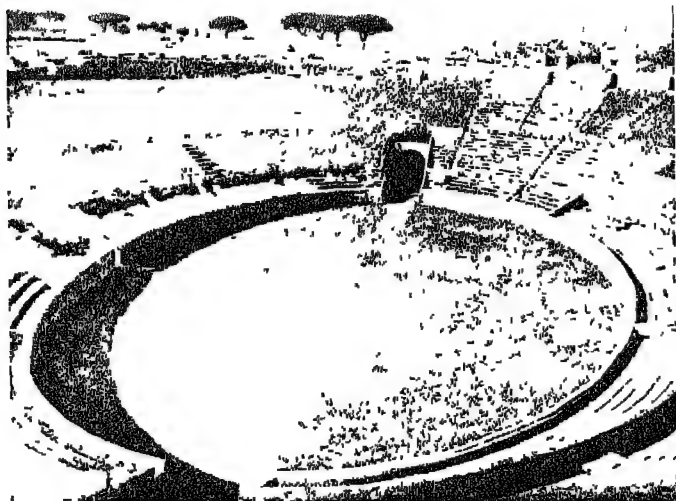
(*a*) *Obverse* Caesar, 44 B C
Reverse Venus Victrix

(*b*) *Obverse* Junius Brutus, 44–43 B C
Reverse Cap of Liberty

(*c*) *Obverse* Pompey, 46–44 B C
Reverse Spanish cities greeting Pompeii

(*d*) *Obverse* Apollo
Reverse Horsemen
c 69 B C

Four Silver Denarii of Cicero's time

Roman Garden with Fountain 1st cent B C Pompeii

Painting in Cicero's time Dionysiac Mysteries 1st cent B C

A Roman Temple, probably dedicated to Mater Matuta Middle 1st cent B C Rome

(*a*) Racing Chariot Bronze Statuette 1st cent B C–1st cent A D

(*b*) Amphitheatre for Gladiators and Animal Fights
Begun 70 B C Pompeii

Praetors were sent to administer law in the provinces. After their first year's service they could be sent to serve in another province as propraetor In 227 B C an additional Praetor was appointed to go to Sicily and another to Sardinia, both won from the Carthaginians. The growth of business abroad and at home required more administrators and after 199 B C six Praetors were usually elected Two Praetors went to Spain to govern the two provinces of 'Nearer' and 'Further' Spain into which the Peninsula was divided after it had been won from Carthage in the Second Punic War The continued expansion of Rome meant that more Praetors were needed In or around 80 B C there were eight Julius Caesar created twelve and later sixteen, but he did it to swamp the Senate with new men rather than to provide urgently needed public officials

The Dictator

The Dictator and his Master of Horse, who naturally possessed the *imperium*, were never appointed except in times of grave national crisis resulting from war on Italian soil and then only for six months at a time Over forty Dictators are recorded between 363 and 300 B C , very few thereafter

The supreme power of the Dictator was shown by his escort of twenty-four lictors, double the number allowed to a Consul. They bore the axe as well as the *fasces*, or bundle of rods Curiously however no Dictator was allowed on horseback in Rome He would then have seemed too like a king Moreover he was not allowed to go outside Italy No military Dictator was appointed after 202 B C , after the battle of Zama, although in Cicero's time dictatorial powers were assumed by Sulla and by Julius Caesar

The Curule Aediles

The compromise solution of 367 B C creating a plebeian Consul and a patrician Praetor was said to have brought such relief that to celebrate it another day was added to the Great Games, until then three days of public holiday and rejoicing

The story goes, but it sounds suspiciously like patrician propaganda, that the two assistants of the Tribunes of the People, the Aediles, who should have supervised this new event, would not

do so, whereupon young men of patrician rank volunteered for the work and were elected as Aediles with a dignity superior to that of their plebeian colleagues. They were promoted to a special chair of office, the Curule chair, or chariot seat, in which none but Consuls, Praetors or Dictators could sit. They also had the privilege of being allowed a special mark of rank on their toga, the purple stripe of a magistrate on the *toga praetexta*. They did not possess *imperium* and were not therefore provided with any lictors as escort. Their main duties were to aid the Consul in executing the law on such questions as prosecuting offenders against the money-lending laws, profiteers in the grain trade, and those guilty of damage to public property. They pursued non-political offenders and exercised police powers in matters such as market control. They had nothing like a regular police force under their command. Republican Rome knew neither police nor firemen. Upon the Aediles also rested the responsibility of preserving Rome from famine by ensuring the grain supply.

The difference in grade between these patrician Curule Aediles and the plebeian Aediles was naturally unwelcome to the plebeians, and it presented them with another exclusive and privileged position for which they were bound to fight. Their victory was rapid, for it was soon agreed that plebeians should be eligible for the office every other year. Except for their more dignified trappings, the Curule Aediles differed little from their plebeian colleagues.

Tribunes of the People

The Tribunes of the People, whose political history reached back almost to the first years of the Republic, were not magistrates, but their peculiar authority to intervene in the name of the people against the executive power of the State entitles them to be regarded as a kind of 'counter-magistrate' (see p. 150).

In the light of later developments in the Roman Republic and from what we know of the general problem of organization and administration, the office of Tribune might have been expected to lead at once to chaos. 'How much will you give me for withholding my veto?' seems on the face of it to be a form of blackmail which the inviolable Tribunes would always have been able to apply with success.

In fact matters rarely worked out that way. After about 457 B C there were ten Tribunes spread over the city so that their ever-open doors could be easy of access to citizens in trouble. Any one of the ten could veto the acts of the remainder, so an obvious way of countering their influence was to try to play off one Tribune against another The religious sanction possessed by the Consuls and Praetors might also be invoked against the Tribunes in the early days of the Republic, for the Tribunes could not take the auspices

Later, about 150 B C , two laws known as the Aelian and Fufian laws seem to have given the senior magistrates the right to dismiss plebeian assemblies and, simply by declaring unfavourable omens, to nullify much of the powers of the Tribunes Cicero regarded these laws as 'a most holy means of weakening and repressing the fury of the Tribunes' He was to see them swept away in 58 B C by his enemy Clodius after they had been shamefully misused by the governing classes For over 300 years before Cicero's troubled times the Tribunes seem to have worked without any very serious friction Ancestral custom, a genuine will to co-operate in sustaining the State, may have brought about this satisfactory state of affairs quite as much as the ingenuity of the governing classes in thwarting the Tribunes Social harmony cannot have been a complete illusion during the long centuries in which the Senate entrusted the Tribunes of the People with the work of proposing new legislation to the *comitia tributa*

The Tribunes helped to maintain social harmony because they acted as a kind of safety-valve Cicero recognized this when in his book on *The Laws* he said that 'by having a leader such as a Tribune, the people sometimes behave more temperately than if they had none at all'. His words show that the Tribunes were by no means exclusively negative forces Conscientious Tribunes helped the magistrates by indicating sore spots and points of friction in the body politic and they no doubt often helped to explain complicated state policies to the people and to get their support for them

There is no official in modern England or in the United States comparable to the ancient Tribunes of Rome The present-day powers of trade-union leaders may both in their positive aspect as responsible leaders of the workers co-operating with the

management of industries and in their negative aspect as strike-leaders appear as a superficial analogy But they have no legal right whatever to veto the actions of public officials, which is what the Tribunes could do, although they have often created embarrassments for the governments of their countries by inflicting loss and hardship on their fellow countrymen by strike action holding up commercial, industrial and transport undertakings

Nowadays Her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories and Workshops, Ships, Schools, Mines, and Quarries and other administrative officials of the Welfare State, acting under Acts of Parliament and backed therefore by the police and the law courts, provide a protective network shielding the British public from wrongs and oppression far more effectively and completely than the Tribunes were ever able to help the Romans

With the creation of the Praetor and the Curule Aediles the ranks of the chief magistrates of the Roman State as they existed in Cicero's day were complete Except for some increase in their number to cope with the great growth of State business, no new rivals to them were created The framework of the Republican constitution which Cicero so loyally sought to preserve at the cost of his life had therefore been determined in all its essentials by 367 B C, at a time when Rome was a very small power in Italy. Cicero therefore was born into a stable political society whose chief officials had a continuous history of over two and a half centuries, considerably longer that is to say than that of the office of British Prime Minister, and longer still than the office of President and Secretary of State of the United States *

Politics and elections in Rome did not merely revolve around the election of senior magistrates and the passing of laws. Although by Cicero's time the chief religious officials and members of the high priestly organizations no longer possessed the outstanding position they had once occupied in the public life of Rome, their power and influence were by no means negligible Cicero himself was ambitious to be among their number and proud indeed he was of the distinction when at last he succeeded in achieving it

* The various grades of the more important magistrates and their relationships are shown on Chart XIII in the first edition of this book

Chapter Eight

RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Priestly 'Colleges'

JUST as the two Consuls who took over the government of Rome from the kings did not long remain the only important magistrates or rulers of Rome, so the chief religious official (*Rex Sacrorum* or King for Sacrifices), who succeeded to the religious powers formerly in the hands of the kings, also soon lost them to priests organized as colleagues in bodies known as 'colleges' These were the Pontiffs, the Augurs, and the keepers of the Sibylline Books, all of them men able to exert a very considerable influence in political affairs by playing upon the superstitious fears by which the simple Roman agriculturists were so easily to be swayed

Of all the arguments used against the political ambitions of the plebeians, none was more frequent or more effective than that to grant them would endanger religion Consequently the patricians retained their monopoly of the religious offices with the utmost tenacity, soon to be matched by the equal determination of the plebeians never to admit their own inferiority in the sight of the gods of Rome

The Sibylline Books

The promise of one consulship, secured in 367 B C, was more than a political victory for the plebeians As one argument against their becoming full Consuls had been the religious argument, the plebeians could claim that their victory not only gave them the Consulate, but gave them entry to other places also where hitherto religion had been the only barrier In this way they began to share equally with patricians in the college of ten men responsible for the guardianship of the Sibylline books A Sibyl was a maiden supposed to be inspired by the gods with the power of foretelling fate Great regard was therefore paid to her utterances At Cumae in Italy, so the legend reports, dwelt a Sibyl of great renown It was from her, so it was said, that the last king of Rome bought the Sibylline books, an ancient collection of Greek oracular utterances The well-known legend, with acute and

perennial testimony to the reluctance and the consequent cost with which mankind chooses the path of wisdom, records how the king refused to buy the books when they were first offered because he hoped to get them cheaper. The Sibyl thereupon burned three of the books and demanded the same price for the six remaining, this also was refused, whereupon three more were burned, and then the original price was paid by the King for the remaining three. The books became treasured possessions, because they were supposed to contain the key to the Fate of Rome. Very much might depend upon the interpretation placed upon texts selected at a critical juncture, and it was to this fact that the political importance of the office of Keeper of the Sibylline books was due. The books were reverently guarded and consulted in all emergencies of the Roman State and the practice had not ceased in Cicero's day. In the fateful year 83 B.C., the year that Sulla returned from the East to wreak vengeance on the popular party of Marius (see p. 214), the Roman Capitol was struck by lightning. The venerable temple of Jupiter, which had stood as an impressive symbol of the might of Rome from the earliest years of the Republic, caught fire and was consumed. With it perished the Sibylline books. They were replaced and the substitutes went on serving the old purpose, although the attention paid to them gradually diminished. It was just as well, because they seem to have been a hotch-potch of nonsense and the fact could not be concealed. 'Whoever was the author of these Sibylline oracles,' said Cicero, making it pretty plain that he did not believe the hoary legend about the inspired Sibyl, 'they are very ingeniously composed, since as all specific definition of person and place is omitted, they in some way or other appear to predict everything that happens. Besides, the Sibylline oracles are involved in such profound obscurity that the same verses might seem at times to refer to different subjects.'

Religion, for the average Roman, was above all a personal affair, centring round his own family fields and fireside. There were no churches, no regular weekly services, no ethical or moral teaching through sermons, and no scriptures. The organized, official or State aspect of Roman religion was not therefore of great significance for the daily lives of the masses, as will be explained in Chapter 17. Its political importance was nevertheless considerable. None of the religious offices or colleges at Rome

was of greater account than that of the Pontiffs (*Pontifices*). With the Chief Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*) at their head they exercised great influence in all departments of Roman life They were the highest priestly college in the State and theirs was the awesome and responsible duty of ensuring both that the gods were not offended and that their will was made known

Everything that amongst an ignorant and superstitious people could be supposed to depend upon supernatural powers came under their control This priestly order had an unknown origin of immemorable antiquity Modern scholars have detected among the recorded practices of the Roman priests survivals of pagan rites from the successive ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron The priestly order was at first self-perpetuating, appointments to it being made by the Chief Pontiff Needless to say, membership was confined to patricians

After the manner of such bodies they clung tenaciously to their rules, forms of prayer and all the rest of the ritual to which they had devoted their lives Along with their records, all were closely guarded secrets which they would divulge to nobody, least of all, in the early days of the Republic, to the despised plebeian If the Pontiffs had exercised none but strictly priestly functions, the plebeians might not have felt a resentment greater than that which exclusion and its presumption of inferiority would naturally inspire But the early supremacy of ritual law over private law had left the Pontiffs in control of marriages, adoptions, burials and other events of life having ceremonial aspects More than this, they were invested with wide powers over customary law, powers which survived from primitive times when the very greatest importance was attached to the choice and order of words and phrases Cicero had often heard his old teacher, Publius Mucius Scaevola, say that no one could be a good Pontiff without a knowledge of the civil law The practical, relatively unemotional character of the early Romans is seen in the great attention they gave to the formal side of religion, particularly in the correct employment of formulas sanctioned by long usage Not religious observances alone and forms of prayer, sacrifice, and celebration, but dedications, consecrations and solemn vows could not be undertaken without priestly aid Such no doubt was the origin of the traditional and unquestioned monopoly of legal forms and the rules of law still enjoyed in

historic times by the Pontiffs The possession of property usually involved the performance of some religious rites The law of property therefore resulted from the authority of the Pontiffs, as Cicero said in his book on *The Laws*, 'in order that the performance of the rites may be imposed upon those to whom the property passes, so that the memory of them may not die out at the death of the father of the family' The Pontiffs consequently had attempted 'to fix with exactness the persons who are bound to perform the rites'

When therefore the plebeians first secured a statement of the law of Rome in the celebrated Twelve Tables in 451 B C (see p 194) they certainly won a victory over the patricians, but above all it was a victory over the priestly class In the same year as that in which plebeians won the right to become Consuls and joined the keepers of the Sibylline Books (367 B C), the creation of a civil Praetor further weakened the hold of the Pontiffs by striking at the tradition that none but priests could be trusted with public law There was nothing to prevent Pontiffs becoming Senators and some of them were to be found in that august body They ruled over the calendar and had the task of adjusting the number of days in a month and of deciding whether there should be an additional month in any one year The duty had been given them by law in 191 B C. They do not seem to have been particularly successful Indeed it was alleged that their errors had sinister motives and that 'either from hatred or from favour to cut short or to extend the tenure of office, or that a farmer of the public revenue might gain or lose by the length of the year they deliberately made worse what had been entrusted to them to set right' The Roman year consisted of merely 355 days, so constant adjustment in the calendar was inevitable Sometimes it was not undertaken, with the result that it was midwinter in the month which should have been spring Julius Caesar finally put matters to rights in 46 B C when he was Dictator by introducing the new calendar of 365 days to the year, since known after him as the Julian calendar To do so the year had to be extended by three whole months to adjust the calendar to the sun Julius Caesar's calendar remained unaltered in Europe until A D 1582 and in Great Britain until A D 1752. The first day, or Kalends, of January A U C 709 in Caesar's new calendar is the 1st January 45 B C in our chronology

Before the Julian calendar, nobody knew for certain how many days there would be in the year, when the public festivals would fall, what days were of good omen and what of bad omen for the conduct of business To a people so bound by religious observances as the Roman farmers, it was most disconcerting to find that festivals and ceremonies connected with the harvests and other events of the farming year came at the wrong time The effect of such uncertainty upon public and private affairs and the manner in which that uncertainty could be exploited to check plebeian ambitions and activities was another natural source of complaint The plebeians had therefore strong motives for wishing to gain admission to the college of Pontiffs

The Augurs

Plebeians also wanted to become Augurs This college, which was as ancient as that of the Pontiffs, specialized in what was thought to be the science of interpreting signs given by the gods for the guidance of mankind in such natural phenomena as thunder, lightning, and the flight of birds. These were the auspices Every Roman used to believe in the deep significance of such events There were degrees of knowledge, and when it was a question of interpreting omens before holding elections, fighting battles or conducting other forms of public business, the task of taking the auspices was reserved for the chief magistrate in charge who might call upon the Augurs for their expert aid If the magistrates wished to suspend any proposed course of business all they had to do was to find and declare that the omens were unfavourable Omens were not hard to find or to invent

Roman history is full of portents and manifestations from the heavens At all times of distress and danger the signs and wonders became more extravagant and the means of averting the disasters they were supposed to threaten grew more elaborate Flaming torches and phantom navies would be seen in the sky Statues and oxen were reported to have spoken Showers of blood, of stones, of flesh which was seized by an enormous number of birds, were said to have rained down from heaven Unnatural births, strange defects in the sacrificial animals, caused great alarm Other mysterious occurrences excited still greater dismay Automatic movements of the statues of gods and goddesses, Mars shaking

his spear, shields sweating blood, blood in sacred streams, blood from newly harvested corn, double moons, sudden shrinkage in the sacred books and votive tablets, all these and many more were reported and widely circulated at various times. Not all were believed but sufficient bewildered folk were found, particularly in a dangerous crisis, to create conditions threatening panic. In that state it was not difficult to secure the submission of the common man and to involve him in eager contribution to those propitiatory sacrifices which, so the priests declared, were alone able to avert the disasters so obviously threatening the State.

The notion, widespread in free-thinking and Jacobin circles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the priesthood is a means of keeping the people in subjection, was no novelty to some shrewd observers in ancient Rome. The intelligent Greek, Polybius, who had witnessed the effect of such rumours during his enforced residence in Rome in the first half of the second century B.C. (167–151 B.C.), came to the conclusion that superstition maintained the cohesion of the Roman State, and he agreed that it was necessary because the multitude had to be kept in submission by invisible terrors and their accompanying pageantry. 'The greatest advantage which the Roman system has over others', he wrote, 'seems to me to be in their grasp of religious questions. What the rest of the world condemns, I mean superstition, is a cementing force with them. This side of Religion has reached such a state of melodramatic pomp with them, both in private and in civic life, that further exaggeration is out of the question. . . . I regard it as an instrument of government. . . . Every democracy is fickle, full of irrational passion, anarchical greed and violence. Your only means of holding it together are the fears of the unseen world and suchlike melodramatic show.' In addition to religious practices having to do with the gods and goddesses and with the unseen forces of nature, magic rites conferring occult powers on human beings without any intervention by the gods also strongly influenced Roman religious behaviour.

In time the people of Rome learned to distrust many of the so-called manifestations from on high. The plebeians in particular had only too often seen how these real or pretended religious phenomena could be used to prevent them getting what they wanted. The patricians when faced with the obstinate claims of the plebeians 'called to their aid, not men alone, but gods'. They

made a religious question of elections If a severe winter had been a divine warning, a succeeding pestilence had been a judgement They would declare that it had been found in the Book of Fate that the gods must be appeased So the plebeians would be told before an election that the auspices showed that the gods deemed it an insult that the highest offices should be made common and the distinction of classes thrown into confusion

Before long such devices proved fatal to the religious claims on which they were founded After the Roman State had survived numerous plebeian Consuls, Censors and other magistrates who had helped to conduct religious ceremonies, it was no longer easy to pretend that they could not become Pontiffs and Augurs The plebeians asked their patrician rivals, 'Who has ever had occasion to regret the vows which have been made on behalf of the State by so many plebeian Consuls and Dictators before taking command of their armies or engaging in battle?' They could and did claim that if a count was made of the commanders since war was first waged under the auspices of plebeians, there would be found to be as many triumphs as commanders The patrician opposition stuck to their old line, but it was no longer pressed with any intense conviction or hope of success

Tradition relates that one of the last political monopolies of the Pontiff had already been broken (304 B C) through the persevering efforts of the son of a former slave. With the aid or connivance of his patron, the far-seeing would-be reformer Appius Claudius, he made it his business to attend court proceedings long enough to note down and publish the procedural forms and language used there by the Pontiffs The game was up, their secrets were out, and the patricians soon had to give way After 300 B C., five out of nine Pontiffs and four out of eight Augurs were thenceforward drawn from the ranks of the plebeians In the third century, about 230 B C, the *Pontifex Maximus* became a public official elected by seventeen of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot Other priestly offices before long were filled in the same way It is difficult to believe that much of the mysterious side of public religion could long have survived this change

Other Religious Offices

Patricians retained their monopoly of some religious posts, possessing no political influence – that of the *Rex Sacrorum* (King

for Sacrifices), the *Flamines* (each dedicated to the service of one god) and the *Salii* (a college of priests maintaining old rites, which included an elaborate procession through the city and ceremonial war dances in March, month of Mars, God of War, and the traditional time for beginning spring campaigns).

By Cicero's time, the decay of the State religion of Rome in the sophisticated society circles, as well as among the mixed population of the city, had gone so far that priestly influence in politics was almost at an end. Almost, but not quite. It may be thought that so cultivated, philosophic and commonsense a man of the world as Cicero would not waste much time upon the Sibylline books and the science of augury, but on the contrary he and his fellow Senators had to spend a good deal of time in January 56 B.C. considering whether a quotation from the Sibylline books should prevent a Roman army going to Egypt.

In the spring of 59 B.C., when Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus by joining forces had removed all possibility of Cicero or anyone else taking an independent line in Roman politics, Cicero declared his disgust with politics. 'I have determined not to think about politics', he wrote. He retired to Antium. In April, that month of beauty in Italy, he said, 'I either enjoy myself with books of which I have a delightful stock at Antium, or I just count the waves.' But his busy scheming brain, still eager for personal distinction, could not rest.

There was one prize which might lure him back. 'Who is to have the augurship?' he enquires from his friend Atticus still in Rome listening to the political gossip of the city. He clearly hoped that the answer to his question might be 'Cicero'. It was, he said, 'the one bait by which those personages could catch me', adding, 'You see what a big price I put on myself.' There were obviously many Romans who thought the same way, and it will be worth while now to turn to an account of some reasons why they thought so, for brief generalized descriptions of the chief parts of the machinery of government in Rome, Senate, public assemblies, senior magistrates (Quaestor, Aedile, Praetor, Censor, Consul) and priestly colleges, necessary as they are to an understanding of the busy life of political Rome, can hardly possess much living interest until they are seen in relation to the life of Roman politicians and their constant competitive struggles with each other.

Chapter Nine

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AS A WORKING CONCERN

To give a picture of the Roman system of government merely by taking the machine to pieces, as it were, labelling and describing some of the chief parts, does not take us very far towards finding how the machine actually worked. That discovery can never be easy because relatively few people, apart from those actually engaged in politics, public administration, journalism and one or two other specialized occupations, have clear and definite ideas how any system of government works

The essential facts about the Roman system may perhaps emerge by comparing it with the very different British system Like the Roman, it also was the unplanned product of centuries of growth and adaptation The government of the United Kingdom is in the hands of an executive committee called the Cabinet, responsible to the House of Commons, which is another name for the elected representatives of the people There is nothing Parliament cannot do, because the United Kingdom is ruled by laws which everybody must obey and which nobody but Parliament can alter It is a very closely-knit system linking together people and government The word 'people' is used to mean every man and woman of British nationality over twenty-one years of age *

The electors at the base of the Roman system were not, as in Great Britain, every man and woman over twenty-one years of age Women did not vote at all, and the men voted on new laws or on the election of Tribunes and junior magistrates only if they were in Rome and available at the time when their thirty-one country wards (tribes) and four city wards were called together by a

* Three coloured charts (XIII, XIV and XV), included in the first edition of this book, attempted to illustrate diagrammatically the machinery of government in Rome in 150 B C and under Julius Caesar 45 B C and to compare both with the machinery of government in Britain A D 1948

Consul, Praetor or Tribune. Rearranged in 193 centuries, most but not all of these men elected every year the senior magistrates, Consuls, Praetors, Curule Aediles and, every five years, the two Censors. They did not elect a representative assembly, like the British House of Commons, from the majority party of whose members a parliamentary executive or Cabinet is created to assume responsibility for all executive action taken in the name of the State

Political action in the Roman Republic had many sources It might issue from any one of the elected magistrates It might be taken by the Senate, on its own initiative, or it might result from new laws voted directly by the people themselves. It was however subjected to impediments from which British government activity is free Since no man ruled alone but each had a colleague with equal powers, each magistrate could block or veto activity by a colleague that he did not like The Consuls could block all other magistrates, but otherwise there seems to have been no hierarchical or 'scalar' organization of the executive administration able to provide effective co-ordinated activity all along the line But assuming that any one set of magistrates had decided upon a line of action, they might nevertheless find themselves blocked completely by any one of the ten Tribunes, with, however, the proviso that none of the other nine Tribunes disagreed with their colleague's veto For one Tribune could veto the act of another From about 150 B C to 58 B C the Aelian and Fufian laws subjected the Tribunes to control on religious grounds by the State officials wielding the powers of the ancient priestly offices

The bad thing about the interference of either Tribunes or religious officials was that it was completely arbitrary There is nothing like it in any modern democratic State In the United States of America today the Supreme Court is able to veto executive action and to rule that laws passed by Congress are unconstitutional and cannot therefore be enforced It cannot do so on arbitrary grounds but only to safeguard the Rule of Law The strength and solidity of public support for the Supreme Court if it is thought to be under attack demonstrates the deep attachment of the American public to the vital principle of the Rule of Law The Romans had no similar constitutional safeguard to ensure that true law and right reason should prevail

The Roman Senate was in an anomalous position both in relation to legislative and administrative action and in respect of its power to sustain the Rule of Law It was but weakly related to the executive machinery and it stood in no such essential relationship to the whole machinery of government as does the British Parliament As long as the prestige of the Senate was high, as it was in the heroic age of the Republic down to about 130 B C., it was able to exert an all-pervading influence throughout the entire Roman system of government Like the pull of the sun, it influenced the actions of every magistrate, the source of all executive political action, and it also determined the choice of questions submitted for the decision of the supposedly sovereign Roman people Apart from the Senate, there was no other political force in the republic sufficiently strong to produce order out of what would otherwise have been, and did in fact become, a dangerous confusion But the Senators were fatally divorced from the people In Cicero's time many of them owed their position to the fact that their ancestors had held high office, so making it easy for them to follow in their footsteps But they commanded no army They controlled no police force It is true that they each had their private band of slaves, ex-slaves, hired men and hangers-on, but for the most part this motley crew hung on for what they could get and were in no mood to stand by their patron if the cold steel of a few legionaries or troops of armed gangsters threatened his life Senators lacked the unfailing support and loyalty of the only force that mattered in the long run, that which sprang from the will and purpose of the private citizen

As time went on their political skill was exercised less in co-operating with the people in a genuine partnership than in managing the popular assemblies by packing them with their own nominees, by bribing the rest and by obstructing them when these devices failed They stood in this respect in a very different position from that of a British Member of Parliament with his direct links with the electors A threat of insult or violence to their M P awakens echoes in a British constituency which soon show that there are more than formal bonds between British electors and their representatives Trouble or injustice in any corner of the British Isles is very soon ventilated in Parliament by the M P for the constituency concerned To safeguard their cause the people in Rome had to rely upon their Tribunes, who

developed a sort of vested interest in opposition. Citizens of the Republic outside Rome lacked such resource. The Tribunes were, apart from remarkable men like the Gracchi, usually unable to withstand the powerful forces which the governing classes were able to bring to bear upon the political scene by means of their well-organized machinery of influence and control.

Worse was to come, as the subsequent story of the political development of the Republic in the age of Cicero will show, when the Senate was no longer able to control the situation. Great public duties such as those arising inevitably from the need to run an Empire cannot be successfully discharged on a basis of political jobbery, which became about all that the Senate had to offer. The Romans muddled on with their government. It had no sustaining support in public determination and it muddled to disaster.

British political evolution has been just as unplanned as was the Roman. It has been just as misunderstood by intelligent foreigners. Montesquieu, analysing the British constitution as he found it in the mid eighteenth century, thought he detected in it the same mystic 'balance of powers' that he read about in the description Polybius gave of the Roman constitution nineteen hundred years earlier. The Senate, Magistrates, and People of Rome may have achieved for a time the balanced partnership in political action described by Polybius, but the record shows that they were unable to maintain it. The plain fact is that if political power in a State is divided and balanced, there is grave danger that occasions may arise when it may be difficult if not nearly impossible to get anything done. It may always take a disappointingly long time to get action upon many minor, but important matters, as the Americans, whose ancestors were influenced by the Montesquieu tradition, have on occasion discovered. In Great Britain the Parliamentary executive is a more flexible and efficient source of political action than the complicated mechanism of the Roman Republic ever became.

It is always dangerous to oversimplify arguments of this sort in the attempt to grasp the complicated notion of the working of the political machinery of a State. The contrast between Rome and Great Britain should be sufficiently evident to show that the Roman system was not capable of the same continuous efficient action in one direction with all the united force of the State that

the British not only can, but must, mobilize if it is to work at all In the Roman system, in fact, common action by all parts of the Republic was not enforced by the organization of the government When unity was achieved it was almost despite the system which was fundamentally defective and bad, from the standpoint of political and administrative organization

To believe this is not necessarily to regard the Republic as doomed A bad system of government and a clumsy administration will not ruin a nation endowed with vitality and resilience Embarrassing, inconvenient and expensive as such defects may prove to be, they can be overcome Many States in the U.S A found in our own times that they had inherited from the horse-and-buggy era a clumsy, inefficient system of government But Massachusetts, Virginia and New York and other States did not fail to prosper and progress for that reason On the contrary, their progress was very real and before long it included a reform of their governmental machine as well

Republican Rome failed to take this step forward, but its failure must be explained on broader grounds than that of its government machinery alone It was the spirit to drive the machine that was at fault

Chapter Ten

THE SUBSTANCE OF ROMAN POLITICS

In brief outline the main framework of the Roman State has now been described But *what* did it do? What were the problems to which Roman politicians devoted their days and what caused the political strife of which Roman history is full?

The story of unrest and commotion within the Republic provides the easiest answer because it points to the problems on which there was fierce disagreement Such a record of disturbance and struggle should not be allowed to blind our eyes to the very much greater amount of public business which roused little controversy, which went on quietly day by day and kept the Republic an active, going concern There would not be space to recount all the petty business and small adjustments in the administration of the Republic even if we had a record of them We know that hundreds of Consuls, thousands of Quaestors, Aediles and Praetors succeeded each other down the ages, many of them now mere names and many more totally unknown even by name Hundreds of election meetings were held to listen to proposals for laws of which we have no knowledge whatever Such lack of knowledge is neither surprising nor very disappointing The twentieth century cannot be expected to follow with eager interest all that happened in a small Italian city over 2,000 years ago Consequently we need try to do no more than to look at some of the main problems, since it is from them that the distinctive character of the Roman people emerges and through them that we may perhaps gain some insight into the slow growth of human liberties

The first task of the early generations of the Republic was clearly to hammer out some general rules and principles to govern the dealings of the patricians and the plebeians with each other The process was very different from that with which we are familiar in a modern city and still more unlike that employed in national governments today For centuries the Romans had been able to assemble all the citizens together in one big meeting or *comitia* to decide upon all important new questions But for

centuries also the new questions were a small part of their lives, which for the most part were governed by habit, tradition, and unquestioning obedience to the properly constituted authority of their magistrates and priests.

First Statement of the Laws of Rome: The Twelve Tables

One very necessary task facing the plebeians and their Tribunes, before they could begin to make any political progress, was to get some clear understanding about the laws by which Rome was supposed to be governed. In the first years of the Republic very few if any of the laws were written, some more were in the memory of men who had agreed to them in the public assembly of the *comitia centuriata*. But by far the largest and most important body of law was known only by the priests of the Roman religion, the high Pontiffs, who alone were competent to declare it. Customary law has normally governed slowly evolving agricultural societies and Rome was no exception. The 'ways of our ancestors' (*mos maiorum*) were expected to be a complete guide to behaviour on most occasions of life and it was sufficient to accuse anyone of disregarding them in order to put him in position of a defendant in serious danger of moral reprobation if not of complete condemnation. So hidebound a way of life may seem very cramped and limited to a freer age, but it was correspondingly tough and strong. At the beginning of the Republic the Pontiffs shared their knowledge of the law to some extent with the Consuls. An aura of mystery remained about the whole subject. There was still something divine about a lawgiver. Between breaking the law and insulting religion it was not easy to draw a line, and few Romans doubted that the gods would visit terrible penalties upon the sacrilegious.

Both Consuls and Pontiffs were patricians. Indeed it was widely believed by patricians that dreadful disasters would fall upon the State if so mean a person as a plebeian was allowed to meddle in any matters of religion.

In seeking to weaken this tremendous weapon of patrician political monopoly, the plebeians and their Tribunes clearly faced a very difficult task. The struggle was prolonged, bitter but determined. Year after year the plebeians re-elected their Tribunes to carry afresh to the magistrates and Senate their

demand for a clear statement of the laws Year after year it was refused. The wrangling went on until 455 B C when, according to the traditional account which some scholars now regard with considerable scepticism, a commission of inquiry of three men was dispatched to Greece to study the Greek codes of law

The interest of the story lies not alone in the light it might throw upon the origins of early Roman laws, but in the grand question when Greek civilization first began to exercise its profound influence on the Roman mind The great age of Greece had not then reached its full splendour Plato was not born and Socrates had not attained manhood Nevertheless, if the story is true, the Romans may be supposed to have felt that they had much to learn, and the mission was said to have been absent for three years Its return was the signal for the struggle to break out afresh There seems little doubt that there was a grave crisis which was finally resolved by a drastic change in the Roman constitution. The plebeians gave up their Tribunes, the patricians resigned the power of the Consuls in favour of a commission of ten men with consular powers, who were to govern the country so justly that the Tribunes would no longer be needed Among their first duties would be to declare the fundamental law of Rome

The task was performed, and it is said to have resulted in a code of law accepted by the people and posted on twelve tablets (451–450 B C). These were the famous Twelve Tables Despite the fact that in the succeeding history of Rome their contents were honoured and constantly referred to, no complete copy of them survived The Romans themselves, when they began to write about law, depended for their knowledge of the Twelve Tables upon a collection of rules made at the beginning of the second century B.C which was said to contain all that was known of them at that early date Some modern scholars have thrown grave doubt upon the tradition, reported by the Roman historians, of so early a development of a Roman code. The Twelve Tables were indeed referred to not long ago as a 'school book of 190 B C ' It has been confidently maintained that at so early a time as 450 B C , before Romans generally had acquired the art of reading or writing, the laws themselves would be handed on from generation to generation chiefly by word of mouth and that the priests, who took special care of the business, were therefore

naturally the chief authorities That a concise statement of the main principles of the laws of Rome had been put together at a very early age and that it had been recorded upon bronze tablets and exhibited in the Forum is not, however, seriously doubted

The Romans may have thought about the Twelve Tables rather as the average Englishman or American, untrained in medieval constitutional law and practice, have regarded Magna Carta, as a respectable historical guarantee which they can invoke to justify their own desires and political objectives

From the fragments which have been preserved some idea of their importance from this point of view can be obtained As to their scope as a whole, opinions seem to differ It has been said that their purpose was not to declare general rights of all Romans but to serve the more practical need of providing a close and minute statement of the procedure to be followed in civil and criminal cases

Yet the Twelve Tables were generally referred to by Roman writers as the first complete statement of the whole body of Roman Law, public, criminal and private They probably summarized the best rules and practices of village life as they had grown up and been slowly established over the centuries As such they were never entirely superseded If what survived of them had merely been a technical guide to lawyers, they would hardly have been learned by heart by Roman children, as Cicero said he had to learn them, although he added that the practice had ceased to be general after his own boyhood

Much of the contents of the Twelve Tables seems to have referred to religious observances and the rules of private law Among the many benefits they were supposed to have conferred were the recognition of the plebeian form of marriage by simple consent of both parties, the equal division of intestate inheritances between sons and daughters, the easier emancipation of slaves, freedom of contract between Romans, freedom of association in guilds and 'colleges' for religious and other observances, provided that they respected the law, and above all some amendment to the law of debt Lending money at interest was not forbidden, but its profits were limited to 10 per cent, under severe penalties, including a rule that anyone who charged more could be made to restore four times as much money as he had illegally squeezed from his victim Such a provision has been held to be

a later addition to the Twelve Tables, for money transactions were by no means general until long after the fifth century B C However, it is known that under Etruscan domination Rome was a trading centre. The treaty of alliance with Carthage concluded immediately after the expulsion of the Etruscan king also refers to trade practices

The political and constitutional parts of the Twelve Tables were also said to have been fundamental and far-reaching Provision was made for the death penalty against traitors, against judges who accepted bribes, and also against anyone convicted of indulging in incantations against a citizen At the same time a fair trial and the right of appeal was guaranteed In particular the old right of a citizen condemned to death to appeal to the greatest assembly of the people (the *comitia centuriata*) was confirmed by the Twelve Tables Cicero had cause to rue the day when, as Consul, he acted so as to give his enemies a chance of accusing him of being neglectful of this ancient rule Finally the sovereignty of the popular assembly was asserted by the rule that its enactments were to be the last word, which meant that they could not be subject to arbitrary change by Senate or magistrates

To have extracted such a charter of rights and liberties in times when the law was both undeclared and an engine of oppression, would have been so great an achievement that its very scope and range excites some scepticism, but whatever the truth about the actual date of all their various clauses may be, the Twelve Tables remain an impressive monument to the early development of Roman Law

Social Cleavage in the Roman Republic

Not the least important thing about the Twelve Tables was that for the first time a declaration had been secured limiting the power of the patricians to say through their priests what the law was The authority of the Twelve Tables is therefore one aspect of the struggle of the Romans to establish the Rule of Law at the foundation of civil society After the appointment of the Tribunes, this was the second major victory of the plebeians But the experiment of appointing ten men to supersede Consuls and Tribunes in order to introduce the reform was not a success The Consuls and the Tribunes were brought back in their stead.

Legend records the harshness and villainy of the second team of ten men (*Decemviri*) and the recovery of the earlier Republican constitution after an attempt by Appius Claudius, the leading *Decemvir*, to enslave a beautiful plebeian girl, Verginia The girl's soldier father, who preferred to see her dead rather than a slave to one of the minions of Appius Claudius, stabbed her as she was about to be led away, rushed back to the camp and raised a mutiny which overturned the *Decemviri* The parallel between the pathetic story of Verginia, whose death removed a hateful tyranny, and the earlier story of the dishonour and death of Lucretia, by which Rome was freed from the tyranny of a foreign king, has been cited as evidence of their legendary nature Both stories were kept alive because they drove home lessons in constitutional, political and social right and wrong, which the ancient historians of Rome wished to enforce The tales have, it has been said, another message They show the power of the Roman woman and the respect which was felt to be her due, whether patrician or plebeian

With the passage of years many of the descendants of plebeian families acquired a lineage little inferior to that of the patricians Some of them also became as wealthy, but very many of them no doubt remained poor, with all the poverty of a primitive agricultural people struggling for food, shelter and clothing for themselves and their families, either on their own smallholdings or as hired men working with the owners of plots often considerably less than five or ten acres in extent

Slow Progress by the Plebeians

Every effort made by the plebeians to improve their chance of becoming magistrates seems to have encountered opposition, difficulty and resentment from the patricians The struggle lasted over 200 years (494–287 B C.) For at least the first fifty years (494–445 B C) the plebeians' main task seems to have been to protect themselves from arbitrary rule and to rescue their bodies and souls from the worst effects of irresponsible patrician domination They were, at this early period, no violent revolutionaries, prepared if need be to wreck the State so as to ruin their masters In fact Rome is most remarkable for the absence from its annals of violent revolutionary outbreaks Few other Republican states

can show so long a reign of internal order and respect for the law.

Despite the 'consular compromise' of 445 B.C. (p. 171), patrician candidates continued to be elected to the office of military Tribune with consular powers. Later Roman historians plausibly explained the fact by saying that the plebeians recognized their own political inferiority and put the welfare of the State before their ambitions for their own class.

The compromise lasted over seventy years, when it was finally ended after five paralysing years of political crisis by the plebiscites carried through the plebeian assembly by two Tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, and known thereafter as the Licinian-Sextian Rogations, of 368–367 B.C. They provided for the compulsory election of one plebeian as Consul. The new law was bitterly resented by the patricians but they were bought off by the creation of the new office of Praetor (p. 173), who was almost a deputy Consul.

Thereafter plebeian progress was more rapid. The first record of a plebeian in the Senate is in 401 B.C., although there may have been some at an earlier date. Apart from the year 493 B.C. it seems, it was not until 172 B.C. that both Consuls were again men of plebeian origin.

The traditional story shows the patricians as bad losers. When their own weakness and the growing strength of the plebeians forced them to give way, their frustration and annoyance broke out in all manner of mean and petty devices. As long as they had power they surrendered nothing. When surrender was inevitable they engaged in any kind of delaying action that their malice could suggest and their ingenuity contrive. Yet the animosity never rose, as it had often risen in Greece, to the point where one of the parties decided to go off to live elsewhere. Until the days of Tiberius Gracchus towards the end of the second century B.C. the struggle never caused loss of life.

Rise of a New Élite – the 'Optimates'

During the course of this long, obstinate, wasteful and, as it seems to us, lamentably perverse struggle, the two classes by whom it was waged had greatly changed. By Cicero's time the aristocratic patricians had greatly declined in numbers. The famous first families of Rome, the Valerii, Fabii, Cornelii,

Aemilii, Furii and Manlii were weakened, politically obscure or extinct The plebeians had not merely increased, they had absorbed the State and had created an *élite* or aristocracy of their own Yet some of their famous families were also in decay – the Sempronii, Fulvii and Claudii Marcelli But the Marcii, Junii, Domitii and especially the Metelli were outstanding and were linked by many marriage ties to the survivors of more ancient patrician houses Two hundred years is a long time in the history of an average family and even today, with vastly better public and private records, relatively few families are conscious of so long a continuous descent The natural result was that the surviving descendants of plebeian aristocrats stepped into the places of patrician aristocrats to form a new nobility distinguished not so much by the length of their family tree as by the number of magistrates among their ancestors

The special favour shown to all elected to high office as Praetor, Censor or Consul has already been emphasized To have become a senior magistrate was a passport to the Senate valid for life Once in the Senate an ex-Consul was listened to before lesser men were asked to speak

There was a natural expectancy that one at least of the sons of the great man would follow in his father's footsteps Thirty or forty noble families, said Cicero, passed on the consulship from hand to hand between each other Their sons, as Cicero remarked with the bitterness of one who had to make his own way by great energy joined with great ability, were marked out for the consulship while still in their cradles

The badge and sign of nobility were not, as with us, survivals of feudal titles of honour, but knowledge of the part played by ancestors in the historic past Their names would be associated with critical events, and they would be remembered for their part in wars and triumphs or in civic affairs as Consuls, judges, governors and law-makers

The central hall of the residences of the distinguished families of Rome would be decorated with a collection of death masks and portrait busts of those of their forefathers who had held a senior magistracy or 'Curule' office These likenesses, suspended in a place of honour in the family home, were a constant daily reminder to all members of the family and to all visitors of the dignity and historic glory of the house They powerfully

sustained the strong Roman tradition that the sole but sure way to social distinction lay through political and military service to the State To reinforce their message publicly such likenesses were borne in state, by men in the costume and insignia of the departed, on ceremonial family occasions, especially at funerals Such displays must have created a formidable impression The cool and intelligent mind of Polybius confessed to their power to stir human emotions 'There could not', he said, 'easily be a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man of noble ambitions and virtuous aspirations For can we conceive anyone to be unmoved at the sight of all the likenesses collected together of the men who have earned glory, all as it were living and breathing? What could be a more glorious spectacle?' It seems that many Roman families yielded on such occasions to the strong temptation to accompany such displays with boastful orations, many of which, as Cicero complained, had perverted and falsified the history of Rome Cicero himself could make no such impressive display in his house, for he was a 'new man', without ancestors distinguished in the service of the Republic

Insensibly, therefore, a mixed new nobility of office holders arose to take the place of the old nobility who had in the past been office holders mainly because they were aristocrats, members of a patrician clan Such was the origin of a number of the best citizens, or '*Nobiles*', as they were described in Cicero's Rome

The result was the rule of a powerful and dignified aristocracy Their manners and habit of life, their devotion to public service, their scant regard for social pretensions founded upon mere wealth, their high sense of honour in their dealings with each other all set the tone and formed the spirit of a society that was to rule the State without serious challenge for upwards of 400 years Inevitably also a class division was perpetuated in Roman society The average citizen who had no political ambitions gave more or less willing obedience to the men who ruled him, without as far as we know feeling any strong resentment or frustration at his own exclusion Exceptionally, a very few able men without magisterial ancestry, 'new men' as they were called, might, if their abilities were outstanding, make their way by their own merit Cicero was one of them and, fully aware and, proud as he was of his own great abilities, he never forgot that to the men around him in the Senate he was an outsider, an upstart

and a man from the countryside, accepted by the best families, it is true, but accepted the more graciously in proportion as he remembered the real, if invisible, gulf by which they and he were divided.

The Recorded Legislation of the Roman Republic

So far, it has not been possible to refer to more than the central themes of Roman politics. Taken alone they would give an inadequate picture, which it is desirable to supplement by setting out as completely as possible the general framework of Roman legislative activity Unfortunately nothing has survived from the lost literature of Republican Rome to make possible the publication of a Roman code of law during the age of Cicero, such as the Federal Code provides for the United States of America or the Chronological Table and Index to the Statutes outlines for Great Britain Few modern historians of ancient Rome have troubled to collect together all the known references to laws or projected laws An attempt is made below to give them regrouped under their main subject-headings to show the date of the first known law or legislative measure on each separate subject and the number of Bills and enactments throughout the history of the Republic. The numbers of the laws passed, or Bills considered, have been rearranged below in two periods The first 400 years of the Republic form the first period The second is that from 100 B C to 30 B C , covering Cicero's active life and extending to the close of the Republican era

SUBJECT	DATE OF FIRST KNOWN LEGISLATIVE ACTION	TOTAL LAWS AND BILLS RECORDED TO	
		100 B C	100–30 B C
Comitia constitution, procedure and powers	449 B C	9	4
Appeals limitation of penalties	509 B C	13	1
Magistrates general rules	509 B C	7	4
Prolonging commands, assignment of provinces	327 B C	14	16
Deprivation of command	217 B C	6	8
Magistrates rules for normal offices			
Consuls	449 B C	4	–
Praetors	367 B C	6	3

SUBJECT	DATE OF FIRST KNOWN LEGISLATIVE ACTION	TOTAL LAWS AND BILLS RECORDED TO 100 B.C	100–30 B C
Magistrates rules for normal offices—*cont*			
Dictator	499 B C ?	6	6
Censors	443 B C ?	5	4
Curule Aediles	367 B C	1	–
Quaestors	509 B C	3	2
Military Tribune, and Military Tribune with consular powers	445 B C	7	–
Tribunes and plebeian Aediles	494 B C	10	8
Special magistrates, creation, powers, duties, confirmation	462 B C	13	10
Exemption from laws	298 B C	9	3
Senate	449 B C	5	3
Priesthood	367 B C	5	6
Cults, Calendar, Festivals, Games	472 B C ?	11	8
Social Classes, admission to patrician or to plebeian status	383 B C	4	6
Award of extraordinary honours	509 B C	5	12
Citizenship grant or deprivation		11	13
forbidding usurpation of	332 B C	2	2
Voting electoral rules	189 B C	4	6
Army	390 B C	9	1
Triumphs and ovations general rules and special awards	449 B C	9	5
Declarations of war	505 B C	27	–
International relations generally	273 B C	6	6
Treaties of Peace and Alliance	446 B C.	20	2
Municipal and Provincial ordinances	189 B C	5	10
Public Revenue and Expenditure	509 B C	9	10
Colonies Foundation of, and emigration schemes	395 B C	15	6
Land Laws	486 B C	32	13
Food Supply, mainly corn supply	440 B C	6	10

SUBJECT	DATE OF FIRST KNOWN LEGISLATIVE ACTION	TOTAL LAWS AND BILLS RECORDED TO 100 B C	100–30 B C.
Roads and Water	123 B C	1	4
Weights, Measures, Currency	269 B C	3	2
Workers' Associations	58 B C	–	1
Social Behaviour sumptuary laws	217 B C	10	6
Debt Interest on loans	367 B C	13	14
Gambling and wagers	241 B C	? 10	?
Private Law			
Guardianship or wardship	136 B C	2	1
Gifts and Dowries	204 B C	2	–
Marriage	445 B C	3?	–
Inheritance	204 B C	2	2
Slaves, manumission of	357 B C	1	–
Acquisition of ownership	149 B C	2	–
Various Damage, Wrongs	286 B C	6?	–
Legal Procedure	204 B C	5	–
Pains and penalties against various individuals	510 B C	12	4
Pardons and Amnesties	449 B C	5	15
Trials by special commission	413 B C	14	7
Relating to the Judiciary	133 B C	6	11
Criminal Law			
Bribery	432 B C	4	10
Treason	103 B C	1	3
Violence	81 B C.	–	4
Extortion	149 B C	4	4
Embezzlement	81 B C	–	1
Sexual offences	331 B C ?	3	1
Murder	123 B C	1	2
Unlawful assembly	139 B C	1	–
Slander	80 B C	–	1
Kidnapping	209 B C ?	1	–
Forgery	81 B C	–	1
Private wrongs	81 B C	–	2

This bare list of the main subject-matter of not quite 700 laws and a few proposed laws, inaccurate as it necessarily is, must be a most inadequate summing-up of the legislative activity of nearly 500 years of a vigorous and growing State Moreover we do not possess the text or anything like an accurate summary of the actual content of most of the measures

listed above Nevertheless the fact that these laws have proved worthy of some mention in what remains of Latin literature may be taken as a rough assurance that we have here an index to the character of the legislation of Republican Rome It shows a normal society actively engaged in shaping the framework of its political life Allowance must be made of course for the fact that the material remaining, relating to the last century of the Republic, is fuller and more reliable than that relating to earlier ages Bearing this fact in mind, it is still possible to read special significance into some entries in the preceding table.

Such, for example, is the evidence of the relatively large number of laws in Cicero's day compared with the number in the previous four hundred years on such subjects as prolonging commands and assigning provinces (16 against 14), awards of extraordinary honours (12 against 5), pardons and amnesties (15 against 5), bribery (10 against 4), food supply (10 against 6) and debt (14 against 13)

On the other hand most of the constitutional legislation relating to the public assemblies, *comitia*, the magistrates, Tribunes, Senate and the Army had been shaped before Cicero's time The list also brings out the fact that the era of foreign wars by vote of the people was over by Cicero's day, as was also the practice of concluding treaties of peace by a public law

The chief and most controversial public problems of the Romans in the formative years of their national life, during roughly the first half of the political history of the Roman Republic beginning in 509 B C, undoubtedly centred around the struggle of the plebeians to free themselves from oppression and to win political equality with the patricians The striking thing about this early epoch was that the political contests engaged the activity of the majority of the people of Rome They were not merely battles between politicians The people were stirred by them to such an extent that unless they had been satisfied they would have refused to continue to belong to the Roman Republic.

Chapter Eleven

PUBLIC WELFARE AND PRIVATE AMBITIONS

LOOKING back upon the achievements of the Roman people we can see how between 509 B.C. and 287 B.C. a stable system, carefully maintaining its ancestral models intact from one generation to another, was gradually being broken up under the impact of social injustices which stimulated first a private and class consciousness of wrongs and then an insistent demand for remedies. The search for a remedy inevitably led the oppressed to take from their oppressors, for their own use, as much power and authority as seemed necessary for safety. A public assembly was organized to counter-balance the authority of the Senate and magistrates. The powers of the priests and magistrates were further checked first by the appointment of 'counter-magistrates' (as the Tribunes may be described) and next by allowing the unprivileged plebeian himself to become a candidate for high office in the State.

An effort was made (451 B.C.) to establish a just body of law by the Twelve Tables and to ensure that the people and not the Senators heard the appeals of citizens condemned by a magistrate. Nevertheless these changes did little to shake the power of the magistrates and Senate, who continued to have almost everything their own way for about another hundred years (451–367 B.C.). Thereafter the political acitivity of the people gained increasing strength until in 287 B.C. the plebeians or poor commons had won what seemed to be a complete victory. The struggle had been long and persistent. The people had numbers on their side and a sense of being the victims of very unjust discrimination. But their ability and their opportunities to stand up for themselves in the political arena were limited and they were furthermore distracted by the constant wars they had to fight. Their political opponents on the other hand started the contest with the immense advantage of having all the levers of power in their hands and the knowledge how to use them. From their ranks moreover came all the men

who were able to devote continuous attention to political problems and who were driven by the compelling necessity to get things done Naturally they wanted to get things done in their own way and for their own advantage, or at least not to their disadvantage Consequently they could not be too scrupulous about ways and means Yet it must never be forgotten that the patricians contributed a great and indispensable service in accepting responsibility for the welfare and even for the survival of the State Such heavy public responsibility is the last thing the average man is willing to shoulder

The complicated nature of the Roman political machinery, with its elaborate balancing of powers and above all its early subservience to religious influence, provided many opportunities for those in control to play off one force against another One or other of the ten Tribunes, and almost certainly the religious officials, could be relied upon to support the serried ranks of the chief men in the Senate and the leading magistrates against untimely and uncomfortable efforts on the part of the masses, their agents or those who, for private political ambition, set themselves up as the champions of the poor

Era of Political Stability

After 287 B C. when the hectic period of internal strife for participation in the political control of Rome finally ended with the decision in favour of the majority of Roman citizens organized in the *comitia tributa*, no golden period of vigorous democratic rule at once followed The next fifty years were politically stagnant The public assembly, despite its newly won freedom from senatorial control, signally failed to make further use of its victory It can only be concluded that the responsibility, power, prestige, authority and determination of the governing classes in the Senate and among the magistrates were still so high that they were able to retain much of the influence that long-established custom had always allowed them Supreme danger does not provoke revolutionary political innovations and the deadly battles with the Carthaginians after 264 B C. postponed political evolution until the immediate peril had passed Then victory proved a powerful solvent of custom, habit, political behaviour and of the opinions in the minds of men In 232 B C new energies were

devoted to political purposes. C Flaminius, as a Tribune, carried a land settlement law through the *comitia tributa* in the teeth of senatorial opposition The *comitia* revived and approved some new measures for civic and political improvements Then came the Second Punic War, which wrecked and ruined the Roman countryside and left a heritage of misfortune so bewildering that it paralysed rather than stimulated men to constructive political action

The disasters of the Second Punic War may have obscured for the time being the memory of the seemingly radical programme of C Flaminius, but those disasters themselves set the scene for programmes of more far-reaching scope

Gradually, as the economic consequences of the war and of the changing fortunes of Roman agriculture and land-tenure worked themselves out, a new approach to public problems began to develop. Two generations were to elapse before, in 134 B C, another tribune, Tiberius Gracchus, took up the challenge presented by the lives of the men of his time and sought by political means to find a remedy for the troubles around him During those two generations the power of the ruling classes, despite the principle of democratic partnership, to put it no higher, for which Romans had striven until 287 B C, had made considerable inroads upon the field assigned by the constitution to the popular assembly Permanent courts manned by Senators took over judicial powers, the Senate took upon itself to extend for a second year, without election by the people, the period of office of magistrates going to rule Rome's newly won provinces and dependencies, the Senate quietly assumed all responsibility for the public finances of the Republic after 167 B C., when Romans resident in Italy ceased to pay direct taxation, and lastly the Senate undertook to determine the strength of the armed forces of the State

Era of Stress and Growing Tension

The buoyancy and tension of the well balanced political forces of magistrates, Senate, and popular assembly which the curious and observant Greek political writer and historian Polybius had noted as one of the excellences of Rome in the period of the Second Punic War, to which in turn Cicero among others also was to look back as to a golden age, had evidently proved unable to

survive. Probably the energies of many men of those two generations less attracted by public affairs, went increasingly into the more absorbing, more exciting and, for many, more rewarding outlets in making their fortunes from the world empire they had begun to build. It was a race to wealth the like of which had not previously been seen. The competitors were unevenly matched and many started with heavy handicaps. Thousands won great prizes but tens of thousands failed.

Meanwhile a profound change seems to have taken place in the attitude of the Romans to their public problems. The people who, according to the traditional account, in their serried ranks had insisted in the past upon guarantees for their rights and liberties through their own public assembly and their own Tribunes, the people who had curbed the arbitrary power of magistrates and priests and had established in their place a rule of law symbolized by the Twelve Tables, no longer occupy the front rank in the political battles of the new age of Rome, the modern age of Cicero, Caesar, Pompey and Augustus. It seems as though that unsleeping vigilance, upon which political and all other liberty has so often been found to depend, was lulled until vested interests had grown with such strength and tenacity of purpose that a revolution was required to break them. Not being accustomed to revolutions, the Romans managed theirs very badly, although in fairness to them it must be admitted that other races from other lands had come to their capital city to complicate the problem they had to face. They hacked and hewed at it until in the end the vitality of their Republic was all but drained away.

By the beginning of the first century B.C. the old struggles between plebeian and patrician for access to the seats of authority were long since dead. Fiercer and more deadly struggles then broke out between active individual politicians for control of the government. In these struggles the people as a whole were the victims, never, except in the Social War, the protagonists by whom the battles were begun. The people, to be sure, had troubles enough. They arose naturally from the restricted economic conditions of the time and were those of every predominantly agricultural community before the days of mechanized farming: land, food, and debt. They were nothing new. By Cicero's time life was indeed more complicated and economic interests were more diversified, but ways of earning a living and the prospect of

becoming wealthy were little better for the common man than they had been in more primitive times Economic conditions throughout Italy as a whole do not seem to have changed sufficiently to explain the civic strife and commotion that darkened the last century of the Republic

Reformers and Demagogues

The source of the troubles must therefore be sought elsewhere The new factor was not the mounting resentment and indignation of an oppressed and poverty-stricken people, but the hopes aroused by one or two men who had plans for improving the lot of their fellow citizens and who came forward as political leaders with the aim of getting their plans put into force

It might have been thought that the fate of the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who made the boldest attempt to grapple with the land question, would have discouraged imitators, because it became clear that they had been unable to evoke or to create a popular following strong enough to carry through their carefully devised policy (see Chapter 3).

Meanwhile the poverty-stricken masses of Rome were becoming men of a different stamp from the stalwart farmers of old Excitable and unsteady, they were ready to back almost any man who would offer them land and bread They were therefore a standing temptation to political adventurers who had only to turn demagogue in order to be carried forward on a wave of popular enthusiasm More than one hardy, unscrupulous Roman, overconfident of his skill, suffered shipwreck in trying to ride that wave Such were Glaucia, a Praetor, and Saturninus, a Tribune, who sought to use the bait of cheap wheat and more land to strengthen their hands in an effort to break the power of the Senate Both perished in the upheaval they provoked in 100 B C M Livius Drusus, a reformer from the ranks of the senatorial party, who was the son of the enemy of Gaius Gracchus, met a similar fate after having revived the Gracchan proposal to grant citizenship to the Italians in 91 B C His failure was the immediate cause of the Social War of 90–89 B.C

The Social War, 90–89 B C

The public questions decided at Rome were of vital importance not merely to Romans but to the other people of Italy as well

The 'Italians' as distinct from the Romans wanted the same rights and privileges as the Romans possessed, and they were no longer content, after they had to fight Rome's wars, to be regarded as inferior people whom the Romans might refuse to treat as their equals in such matters as rights to public land, trading privileges, and other indications of their social standing and position in the State

Gaius Gracchus had excited their hopes in the generation before Cicero when he drew up the plans, which lost him his popular following in Rome, to give full citizenship to all Latins and Latin rights to all other Italians. The Romans wanted no Italians sharing their cheap corn, free circus shows, distributions of land, or the occasional bribes given for their votes in the public assemblies

We lack detailed knowledge of this confused and discreditable period It culminated in that bitter Social War in which Rome had to fight again for supremacy in Italy The Italians formed a confederacy, without however at first being able to include the Etruscans and Umbrians They set up a Senate with Consuls of their own and waged war on Rome in which at least 300,000 men lost their lives After one or two defeats, Rome saw that no peace could be permanent that refused civic rights to Italians Citizenship was therefore promised in 90 B C to all the allies willing to lay down their arms Many accepted and a similar offer in the following year meant that at heavy cost most of the Italians had won the right to become citizens of Rome But no more than a mere half million actually became full citizens with voting rights in Rome's elections instead of the two or three millions who should have been given the privilege Moreover, by a shabby trick, most of the new voters were confined within eight of the thirty-five electoral tribes or wards But the right to vote at Rome was probably the least of the privileges desired by the Italians Now at last able to call themselves by the proud title of Roman Citizen, they were no longer at the mercy of any Roman army officer or magistrate Henceforth Rome was no longer a City State but the capital of Italy (88 B C). That Rome was still the paramount power is seen in the fact that it was the Roman Empire and not an Italian Empire that ruled the world Thereafter the Oscan and other Italian cultures sank to mere provincial peculiarities

These few lines upon a grim struggle cannot now open our eyes to the savagery and slaughter by which Italy was then torn to pieces We can but dimly imagine the loss and ruin, but the memory of it must be carried forward to deepen the impression of gloom and impoverishment of the political scene in which Cicero and his contemporaries had to act

The Social War was the last spontaneous mass movement in the history of the Roman Republic, but it was not the Romans who took the initiative It was a struggle that overlaid a civil war in Rome itself, provoked by no mass movement and serving not public so much as private and personal ambitions nourished upon the power of supreme military command

This new force in the State was created by the practice of allowing the people in their public assembly to vote for a law conferring a high command upon a popular general. The Senate then lost its age-old right of saying who should conduct a particular war or who should be sent to rule in the provinces, how many legions they were to have and how much money they were to be allowed On very rare occasions the Senate had been compelled in the past to yield such powers to the people Scipio Africanus in 205 B C practically forced the Senate to give him the command in Africa against the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War Sixty years later another Scipio by adoption (Aemilianus) was entrusted with the third and final war against Carthage by the vote of the people in a plebiscite (147 B C) These were very exceptional appointments In the year before Cicero was born his distinguished townsman Marius succeeded in being elected as Consul for 107 B C He had been serving in North Africa under Metellus, Consul for 109 B C, who had been sent there with inadequate forces by the Senate against Jugurtha, a fierce, unscrupulous barbarian prince who had secured the Kingdom of Numidia by murdering his cousins, the two brothers Adherbal and Hiempsal, co-heirs with him to this domain of their grandfather, Masinissa The war had not gone well Some ugly stories alleged that heavy bribes, paid by Jugurtha to some influential Romans, were responsible for the failure of the legions Jugurtha had already learned the power of bribery in his dealings with the Romans. He regarded Rome as 'a city up for sale and destined to perish, if it finds a buyer '

Disloyal to his commander, Marius was able, in this poisoned

political atmosphere, to get a Tribune to propose to the public assembly that he should replace Metellus The manoeuvre succeeded and, aided by the dash and brilliance of his young staff officer L Cornelius Sulla, Marius soon brought the war to a close, returning with Jugurtha a prisoner who was to be killed in the Roman prison

Marius and Sulla

This tough old man then added to the laurels earned for him in Africa by Sulla, by saving Rome from a threatened invasion by huge armies of two barbaric peoples of the North. These were the Teutoni allied with the Cimbri from the Baltic. The Cimbri had been on the move since 113 B C. and Rome had lost several battles against them before Marius reorganized the Roman army (p 49) and succeeded in destroying first the Teutoni at Aquae Sextiae near Marseilles (102 B C) and next the Cimbri at Vercellae near Turin (101 B C) These two tremendous victories removed for centuries any new threat by barbarians to the Roman people Great as had been the glory then earned by Marius, he lost it all by becoming involved in the internal politics of the city on the side of Glaucia and Saturninus As a politician, he was as unskilful as they, for he ended by being the agent by whom they were suppressed in 100 B C He then went into retirement, from which he did not emerge until he thought he saw, in the confusion of the Social War, an opportunity to return to the scene of his former triumphs To regain his lost prestige, he wanted the command in the war in the East against Mithridates which the Senate had entrusted to Sulla He had no difficulty in getting it by a resolution passed in the popular assembly

But his 'direct action' tactics failed Sulla refused to obey and declined to hand over his troops Instead he marched at their head to settle the matter his own way in Rome Marius, who had no army, fled Sulla had the law repealed, and legally retained his command against Mithridates Although he met with no serious opposition, his action was civil war, a war to control the Roman army that had conquered and could control the whole world It was not a fight to decide whether the people or the Senate should control the army The people had no means of control The army is part of the executive machinery of government and should have remained in the hands of those responsible for executive action.

The people should never have been allowed to say who was to command because it was a decision they were powerless to enforce, as Sulla proved when he refused to obey them The political system that until then had controlled military power broke down with the sudden emergence of a new third independent power in the State Sulla proved for everybody to see that whatever the constitutional rights and wrongs of the situation might be, any man having military supremacy, that is to say, a sufficiently large force of Roman soldiers willing to follow him through thick and thin, could easily have political supremacy also if he wanted it Before he went off with his army to the Eastern wars he had no time to do more than to make one or two changes in the government of Rome One was to require the approval of the Senate before any new law could be put before the citizen body No longer should this be the plebeian assembly, that lost all its law-making powers and was only allowed to elect Tribunes They too were shorn of their powers of proposing new laws and rules. All such legislative business was henceforth to be taken before the *comitia centuriata* (p 158) where voting power was weighted in favour of the owners of property Sulla thought to secure this conservative revolution by making the new consul of 87 B C , L Cornelius Cinna, swear a mighty oath of loyalty to him and his cause But Sulla had hardly left Rome before Cinna began to propose changes He revived the plans to give the new Italian citizens fair voting rights which had been proposed by P Sulpicius Rufus the year before He was the Tribune who had tried to get Sulla's Eastern command transferred to Marius and he lost his life in the riots his schemes provoked Cinna was opposed by his colleague, the Consul Cn Octavius Forced to withdraw from Rome, he set about collecting troops Old Marius saw his opportunity and speedily recruited an army of his veterans Converging upon Rome they easily overcame the flabby resistance of Octavius and the Senate, and, with a cold brutality new in Roman public life, they murdered the leading men of the Senate and of the governing class From this appalling slaughter the Senate never recovered. The oldest, most eminent and most experienced of the traditional rulers of Rome disappeared in a blood-bath of revolting horror, the like of which had never been seen in Rome before The consul Octavius was slain with some ceremony and Marius set his slaves to butcher his

enemies right and left until it was too much even for Cinna who had all these slaves killed by his soldiers Cinna got himself re-elected as Consul in the following year, 86 B C, with Marius as his colleague For the seventh time the old man became Consul, but his triumph was very short, for he soon died. Sulla meanwhile was campaigning in the East Cinna, with Carbo as his consular colleague in 85 B C, were preparing for the inevitable civil war against him which Cinna decided to fight in Greece Early in the following year however his own troops killed him as he was preparing to sail Carbo resolved to wait for Sulla to return and to fight it out in Italy For three years both sides had prepared for the clash which was inevitably fierce and bloody In 82 B C Carbo had the son of old Marius as his consular colleague Following in his father's footsteps, he slaughtered more prominent men and Senators likely to sympathize with Sulla Among them was Q. Mucius Scaevola, *Pontifex Maximus* and holder therefore of a most sacred office. It was from him that young Cicero had received his first lessons in statesmanship None but the lesser men, with some fortunate exceptions, remained The weakness of the Senate as a political force in Cicero's lifetime must be attributed in part to the work of the butcher Marius, his son and his accomplices

If Sulla had not made plain in 88 B C the lesson that a resolute army commander could snap his fingers at Senate and people alike, there was no doubt about it when he returned victorious from the East five years later Cold, hard, inflexible of purpose but willing to stoop to any treachery and deceit to get his own way, Sulla determined to make the demagogues pay for their crimes He gave fair warning of his intentions Civil war began as soon as he had landed. In 82 B C. a Roman army under Sulla fought desperate battles against the armies of the Roman Consuls and discontented Italians, especially the Samnites, who were finally broken and overcome in a fierce fight outside the walls of Rome. The slaughter at the battle of the Colline Gate was followed by another reign of terror which, in numbers slain, outdid the butchery of Marius Samnite captives were slaughtered to a man in a massacre which soon extended not merely to all Sulla's enemies but to those against whom any of his minions cherished a grudge Their political and personal enmity was sharpened by their greed for gain and many of their victims perished

so that their property might pass to their slayers. Nearly 5,000 names were said to have appeared on Sulla's dread proscription lists that sealed the doom of many a prominent Roman and deprived many families and children of their inheritance and of their political rights. Many rich business men who had rashly opposed the Senate then perished. One young relative of Marius, deeply implicated in the 'democratic' cause, curiously escaped. He was, it was said, too dissolute and wild to be taken seriously. His name was Gaius Julius Caesar. This was the first truly Roman civil war and the Romans, among them Cicero, then in his twenties, never forgot the tragedy of that terrible time. The bloodshed of the Social and civil wars in the ten years between 90 B.C. and 81 B.C. is thought to have caused the death of about half a million Romans and Italians. With them perished the best and most active citizens of Italy.

Sulla's Reforms

After such an experience, Roman politicians could never feel that they were standing upon firm ground, despite the fact that Sulla had used his absolute power after being elected as Dictator by the *comitia centuriata* in 82 B.C. to enforce a series of changes in the machinery of government that would, so he hoped, make it impossible for irresponsible Tribunes or soldiers again to use the ward-assembly of the People (*comitia tributa*) to defeat the Senate and the constitutional authority of the magistrates.

Sulla, fiercely proud, had known what it was to be a poor man. Yet he did not choose the easy path to fame by becoming a mob leader, trading upon the poverty of the masses and buying their support with rash and illusory promises. He favoured firm government by the established leaders whose ancestors had run the country from the earliest times. This meant strengthening the Senate. He increased its numbers, then probably down to about 150 men, to about 600 probably with the approval of the public assembly, if not by actual popular election. Many of the new Senators came from the ranks of the business men. Sulla may have counted upon weakening the political activity of the business and commercial class, for the new Senators would, he no doubt hoped, transfer their support and that of their many dependants to the Senate.

Gaius Gracchus had given business men the task of serving in the courts as jurymen and had allowed them also to become responsible for managing the taxation of the Asiatic provinces. Not without great justification, for they had shamefully abused their powers, Sulla deprived them of both these privileges. To keep the enlarged Senate up to strength, Sulla gave the Quaestors automatic entry to it on their election by the public assembly, the *comitia centuriata*. No longer should the Censors be allowed to appoint Senators The venerable office of Censor was discontinued so there was no means whereby the new electors from Italy could be registered The graded advancement in the magistracies, now increased in numbers, was again made the rule, as it first seems to have been in 180 B C No man could henceforth become a Consul until he was at least 42 years old, Praetor before he was 39, or Quaestor before 30 To prevent re-elections to the consular office such as Marius had secured, Sulla reinforced an old rule that no man could be re-elected as Consul within ten years of holding that office By making it necessary for a man to remain in the Senate for eight years before he could rise to the responsible position of Praetor, Sulla hoped to ensure that none but men loyal to the Senate should reach positions of real power, which of course included the command of Roman armies.

Having strengthened the Senate, which had been dangerously diminished in talent and experience by the Social War, the civil war and the subsequent murders, Sulla's next task was to ensure that it should henceforth remain in full control of the political activity of the Republic, which meant in particular in control of the public assembly of the people He therefore re-established the rule that no measures should be proposed to the people for their assent that had not previously received the approval of the Senate

Besides weighting the scales heavily in favour of responsible government, he struck at the safety valves of popular unrest The office of Tribune was the first and special object of his attack Its power was blunted by the rule that a Tribune could never hold any other office and should not moreover serve again as Tribune until ten years had elapsed since his first year of office By making it plain in this way that there was no political future for a Tribune, Sulla sought to discourage active and ambitious men

from seeking the office The powers of the office itself were notably diminished Probably the Tribunes lost their ancient power of proposing new legislation to the people. Limits were put upon their right to prosecute and to intervene in the business of the State.

It is not known whether Sulla interfered with the composition of the public assembly, which probably continued to meet in the tribal organization that had been the rule for the previous 200 years

Control of the army was a problem that Sulla failed to solve To discourage the ambitious army commanders he did, it is true, favour a tendency to limit their period of service to one year and he made them guilty of treason if they did not give up their command to their successor or if they left their province at the head of their army without authority. Such rules, as he himself had proved, were not worth the paper on which they were written The real problem, now that the army was recruited on a voluntary basis and no longer depended upon conscription, was how to enlist an army and to secure its loyalty to the Senate and the Republic. The recruits joined for what they could get A successful general would provide them with booty and see that they got allotments of land as soon as they were demobilized after the campaign was over Naturally the troops would stick to their general in the hope of these benefits In comparison with such solid advantages the Republic was but a name and before long a successful general, so it is said, uttered those very words How might the Republic have been saved? Not by a respectable constitutional general For he would obey the Senate, give the Treasury all the loot his men could gather and refer them to the Senate when they asked for their share and for an additional reward in the shape of allotments of land The Senate had usually a deaf ear for such requests They could not or would not contemplate the only possible remedies, which plainly were attractive forms of reward for army service, guaranteed and justly administered To provide for the troops in this way would have been beyond the limited powers of the Senate, which possessed no civil service or executive machinery

Sulla at any rate did not solve the problem. As long as he lived his new rules were no doubt obeyed. The Senate and the traditional party of law and order had everything their own way The

machinery was there, but would there always be men to work it as Sulla apparently expected? In 79 B C he retired and in the following year, after a brief period of exotic luxury amid his vast wealth, he died. He wrote an inscription for his own monument, It said ‘No friend has ever done me a kindness and no enemy a wrong without being fully repaid’ It is a boast that every gangster would like to make his own

Such was the condition of public affairs in the Republic of Rome when Cicero embarked upon his political career

Chapter Twelve

THE LADDER OF FAME IN ROME

The Prestige of Politics

To win election as a magistrate and to become a Senator, or to be admitted to one of the priestly colleges, had long been the height of ambition for any active, able young man of Rome No other profession in which nowadays men can rise to public fame yielded rewards so substantial as those to be earned in politics in the Roman Republic Authors, scientists, professors, industrialists, business men, bankers and journalists, whose names are more widely known in contemporary England or America than those of many Cabinet Ministers, either did not exist or were little regarded by the men and women around Cicero Their houses were not thronged every morning by assiduous crowds of friends, supporters and clients such as those who flocked to pay court to the leading men in public life Their names were not on everybody's lips

In the world of entertainment and of sport the difference between Rome and more recent times is not so pronounced The Roman actor Roscius seems to have enjoyed rewards such as those given to David Garrick or to Sir Henry Irving Many a Roman gladiator and charioteer must have been as great a hero to city crowds as a star player in a British football team and to have had a following as enthusiastic as any of the renowned figures of American baseball But these men did not make history and their day was brief The laurels of the eminent politicians and statesmen did not wither so soon and they knew it Cicero once professed that his main concern was with what people would be saying about him in 600 years' time 'I am much more afraid of that', he said, 'than of the petty gossip of the men of today'

Throughout the history of the Republic the best families of Rome sent their most gifted sons into political life. When Cicero was murdered the last of the great independent Roman politicians disappeared and they were to have no successors Until the governing classes of Rome lost their freedom, politics was a good

career for the few able to enjoy it It found responsible jobs and gratifying dignity for the *élite* of the educated and socially active men of Rome But competition was keen and the successful were numbered by tens, not by hundreds

Gifted much above the ordinary run of his countrymen in wit, humour, quick insight, intelligence, and emotional sensibility, Cicero did not find it difficult to achieve personal distinction in the highest social circles of Rome What lay behind the brief record of his career with which this book began and how is it to be translated into understandable terms of human activity and achievement?

That he should have been able to adopt such a life at all is the first surprise, because he did not come from a family whose menfolk had already achieved political distinction His father was of the equestrian order, and none of his ancestors had succeeded in ennobling the family by having served as one of the chief magistrates of Rome They seem, on the contrary, to have been hard-working farmers occupying a farmhouse by no means large or impressive Cicero started life therefore under a heavy handicap. He was a 'new man' and he had to break into a jealously guarded circle wherein 'new men' were by no means welcome His father, although a retired country gentleman, had intellectual interests He seems to have done his best to find opportunities for his son, Marcus, who had already shown signs of great promise, to make a start in life in the great city Marcus and his younger brother, Quintus, accordingly went with their father to Rome where they were fortunate in being able to profit by his long-standing friendship with one venerable figure in the political life of the Republic, Quintus Mucius Scaevola, head of the priestly class or *Pontifex Maximus* and son of a *Pontifex Maximus* Between his sixteenth and eighteenth birthdays, young Marcus lived with this distinguished old man, learning eagerly from his example and his conversation how a Roman might succeeed in public life Profiting by this experience he was able to some extent to make up for the great disadvantage of coming from a non-political family Scaevola was not his only teacher, for he gave grateful recognition to other men who had influenced his early development, particularly three Greeks, Archias, a poet and man of letters, Philo, a philosopher, and Molon of Rhodes, a pleader in the law courts Through them, he declared, he had gained that abiding

interest in books and things of the mind which were to remain throughout life his unfailing source of support and consolation.

After his brief military service he gave himself up entirely to study and to private practice in speaking and writing He reached early manhood at a time when Rome was torn by fierce political struggles between Marius and Sulla The behaviour of these two ambitious and ruthless men must have contrasted strangely with the picture of orderly political life and the tradition of loyalty to the institutions of the Republic which young Cicero would have imbibed not only from the aged Scaevola, soon to be slain in the civic strife, but from all the many people who looked back to the grand story of Rome and her rise to fame.

Cicero's Early Political Career

When Cicero was training himself for a political career, inspired by his old friend Scaevola the *Pontifex Maximus* and by the praise and encouragement of his Greek tutors, his first ambition was to persuade the assembly of the people, the *comitia tributa*, to elect him to one of the twenty posts of junior Treasury officials, or *Quaestors*, which fell vacant every year Before he could stand any chance in this contest he had to become a familiar figure to the city electors There was only one way for a 'new man' to win such distinction and that was by constant activity in the crowded Forum, pleading cases before the Roman courts with the idle city populace listening to the proceedings Although there was no formal legal profession and anyone might volunteer to defend or prosecute, yet then as always people liable to lose heavily by an unfavourable judgement naturally sought a skilful advocate to plead their cause This is where Cicero's great natural gifts of fluent, graceful and impressive speech, developed as they had been by his heavy investment in legal study and by long practice, stood him in very good stead. But a young man had to work very hard to gain his laurels Cicero took a bold course by suddenly attracting attention by undertaking the defence of a wretched victim of the greed and insolence of a favourite of Sulla, then the all-powerful Dictator of Rome (80 B C) This was sufficient in itself to excite interest, particularly as Cicero won the case He continued to act as defending counsel in other lawsuits, despite the evident danger of crossing Sulla, until 79 B.C , when for

reasons of health, safety and further study he went on a two years' tour in Athens, among the famous cities of Asia and in Rhodes. When he returned, with renewed vigour, the great Sulla was no more. The dread he had inspired was slowly abating and there was some hope that the traditional routine of Republican government might continue.

Cicero re-entered ardently the legal battleground where in a short time he achieved such success that veteran orators of the Forum, ripe for election to the consulate, found themselves outdistanced by this almost unknown young man from the country. As soon as he reached the age of thirty, he was able to seek election as Quaestor and his candidature was at once successful (76 B.C.). Quaestors had to serve not in Rome alone and Cicero found himself posted to Sicily. Throughout 75 B.C. he gave himself up to his new public duties and he obviously thought he had done well in supervising the export of corn to feed Rome and keeping a watchful eye upon that part of the administrative work of governing Sicily which it fell to him to undertake under his chief, the Praetor or Roman governor of the island. Returning to Rome full of his exploits he found not only that nobody felt grateful to him for his devotion to duty but that hardly anyone remembered where he had been. So much for the fame of a Quaestor. But thanks to Sulla's reforms, it brought one enduring reward – life-membership of the Roman Senate. It is true that as a new recruit and a backbencher, it was most unlikely that Cicero would be called upon to speak. However he had a vote and he now belonged to the most exclusive, dignified and influential club in the world.

For four more years he toiled and slaved in the courts. Each year twenty new Quaestors were elected, all his potential rivals for political distinction.

Pompey and Crassus

Meanwhile political developments were undermining the Roman constitution as it had been reshaped by Sulla. In 70 B.C., despite all the rules, a young man, son of the Consul under whom Cicero had served in his one campaign during the Social War, Gnaeus Pompeius, already and prematurely nicknamed by Sulla 'the Great', had become Consul. Yet he possessed none of the qualifications earned by service as junior magistrate

and by slow advancement in the routine of politics, the *cursus honorum*. The story of his rise to power was to become familiar and indeed it was no longer new. The Senate had wanted a capable commander to defend the Sullan constitution against no less a man than the Consul for the year 78 B.C., Lepidus, who had so soon taken upon himself to undo the work of the Dictator. Pompey, who had shown ability against Sulla's enemies in the civil war, was a necessary choice for the Senate, who by no means trusted him. But he had a powerful influence in the important recruiting-ground of Picenum, where his father's reputation stood high. Successful against the rebels under Lepidus whom he defeated and put to flight, he was immediately afterwards sent to Spain at his own request where Sertorius, who, like Sulla, had been one of the most able of all the officers of Marius, still had the country under his control. Hardly had Pompey succeeded in bringing such aid to the Roman commander, Metellus, in Spain that the forces of Sertorius were broken, when new alarms disturbed the peace in Italy. In 73 B.C. some gladiators, accustomed to dangerous fighting, began to organize a formidable slave revolt under an able leader, Spartacus. They defeated both the Consuls in 72 B.C. and a new Roman army, recruited by another of Sulla's lieutenants, M. Licinius Crassus, was also unable to defeat the rebels at his first encounter with them. The fate of thousands of Italian homes, at the mercy of great gangs of desperate and maddened slaves led by cut-throats and gladiators, was pitiable indeed. The Senate, who had no reason to feel confident of Crassus, summoned Pompey back to help subdue the Spartacists. By the time he arrived, however, Crassus had just about completed the task and Pompey's men had little more to do than destroy the fugitives from the slave army defeated by Crassus in a pitched battle. (Plates 27, 28.)

The Senate's enemies had been overcome, but there were two generals made powerful by victories, Pompey and Crassus, both at the head of their loyal armies. The Senators disliked them both, Sulla had mistrusted Pompey because of his effort to capitalize some military successes in Africa, and Crassus because of his sharp practices in profiting from the many large fortunes confiscated during the proscriptions. With no love for each other, they nevertheless were not such fools as to fall for the ingenious plan cherished, it seems, by some Senators, according to which

they should fight each other and let the Senate dispose of the victor. A simpler plan from their point of view was to sink their personal feelings and to combine against the Senate. Accordingly, at the head of their armies they marched on Rome demanding that they celebrate their triumphs and become Consuls for the year 70 B.C. The Senate was powerless and they were both elected despite the fact that neither had the necessary legal qualifications. They were an ill-assorted pair, deeply suspicious of each other and with no regard for the policy and plans of Sulla whom they had so powerfully helped. Together they struck heavy blows at Sulla's constitution. They restored the power of the Tribunes and they deprived the Senate of the right to approve all new measures before they were submitted to the public assembly. The main bulwarks of the Senators' defence against ill-advised and irresponsible legislation was removed but ten years after it had first been won back for them by the great Dictator. The people were pleased. In the same year the Censors were restored, their authority over the Senate was again affirmed, and a purge of the senatorial ranks began. The Censors were able to begin enrolling the new Italian citizens as voters, an empty gesture, for ballot boxes were still not provided in the municipalities. It remained to satisfy the business men, who were again admitted to share jury service with the Senators on such terms that the Senators were no longer able to control the courts.

Popular as these acts no doubt were outside senatorial circles they cannot be described as a reform. Merely to undo Sulla's work and to leave matters at that was to restore a threat of chaos that Sulla had at least sought to remove. Pompey does not seem to have realized the fact. He never seems to have reached a true understanding of the forces at work shaping the political destiny of the Republic. Cicero had not yet reached a position from which he could intervene in these matters of high constitutional principle.

Cicero as Aedile and Praetor

He was fully occupied in making his career in the courts. His fame seems to have been rising steadily. When in 70 B.C. he sought election as Aedile to serve in the following year, he was triumphantly elected by a greater number of votes than any of his three competitors. His triumph was the greater because

he was not a rich man and the main duty of an Aedile from the point of view of the man in the street was that he should spend lavishly on public shows and festivals Unlike Caesar five years later, who borrowed money on a ruinously extravagant scale in order to buy the favours of the mobs of Rome, Cicero managed this business cleverly and honestly and he further added to his laurels by his successful prosecution of Verres, a corrupt governor of Sicily, who had almost bled white the wretched Sicilians whom Cicero had done his best to serve five years earlier

After his year of office as Aedile Cicero was thirty-eight He was half-way on in his effort to climb the ladder of fame He had still to strive for the greatest prizes and they were the most difficult to grasp. One of the two consular posts was the ultimate summit of ambition, but for that Cicero would not be able to compete until his forty-second year Before he could even hope to become a candidate he had to get himself elected as one of the eight Praetors Except for political complications which made it necessary for the elections to be held three times, Cicero had little difficulty in becoming the First Praetor of the city in 66 B C In this office he presided in the highest civil court of Rome and was also a commissioner in extortion trials such as the one he had led against Verres These high judicial duties did not prevent him, as they would now prevent British or American judges, from continuing to appear as advocate in the courts Neither was it thought unseemly when he made a political speech appealing to the people to vote supreme powers and large forces to Pompey In continuing disregard of Sulla's Constitution which, as Consul, he had already undermined, Pompey wanted to take the command of the war in the East against Rome's old enemy, King Mithridates, who had murdered tens of thousands of Italian traders over twenty years earlier, had never been completely subdued by Sulla and was again threatening the security of Rome's eastern frontiers in Asia Minor and in Greece The Senate had appointed Lucullus to this command and he had already been in the field since 74 B C Pompey had already a vast force under his command, given him in the previous year to wipe out piracy in the Mediterranean Fresh from his complete victory over the pirates, Pompey got the command and went to the East with a force so huge that there was nothing to prevent him returning as another Sulla if he had the mind to do so

No sooner had Cicero completed his year as Praetor, given up

his *imperium*, and dismissed the two lictors who accompanied his ceremonious journeys through the city, than he began to scheme and plan to become one of the two Consuls If he had chosen to take a province he could have gone off at once to rule as governor (*propraetor*) in one of Rome's dependencies He preferred to remain in Rome and to work hard for the consulship. Two years had to elapse before he could legally take the office, should he be fortunate enough to be elected When Praetors were elected at the rate of eight a year it is clear that the number of possible candidates for the consulate might be large There was no upper age limit for a Consul and in theory therefore at any one time there might be anything from fifty to a hundred Roman politicians of eminence and considerable experience fully qualified for the office The power of family influence was so important that ordinary men had to possess it in full measure if they were to stand a chance of success Great self-confidence joined with unusual ability was naturally required in any man who lacked such influence, and many ex-Praetors would not choose to run, either because they knew that they could not 'make the grade', or because they preferred a quiet life to the harassing duties and grave responsibilities of a co-President of the Roman Republic

How to Win an Election in Rome

As it turned out, Cicero had six competitors Something of the tense excitement of his struggle survives in his letters, but it remains still more vividly on record in a little electioneering manual generally thought to have been written for his benefit by his brother Quintus Full of sound sense, it is not likely that it contained anything of importance Cicero himself would not know full well In any case it shows how anxious his brother was for him to succeed His anxiety was well founded He begged Marcus to remember how difficult it was to succeed in Rome with its confused jumble of people, amidst so many traps and pitfalls and so much vice and where arrogance, stupidity, ill-will, snobbishness, evil tempers and worse manners all created so many more difficulties and dangers for the unfortunate candidate Cicero also must never forget, said his brother, that he was a 'new man' That in itself was a bad enough handicap and Quintus could do little more than try to prove that it need not be

an insuperable bar Had not a 'new man', Gaius Coelius, become Consul? It is true that it was thirty years ago, but he had two very distinguished aristocrats against him and yet he had managed to beat one of them

The great thing, said Quintus, was for Cicero not to be dismayed by the undoubted difficulty of his task He should count up his advantages and resources and see that all were energetically employed in his cause Nothing should be neglected That all his friends should be enlisted in his support went without saying Everyone whom Cicero had helped in the law courts should be reminded that the time had now come when they could show their gratitude An elastic meaning should be given to the word 'friends' which 'has a wider application during a canvass than in other times'. It should cover all the many callers at Cicero's house Every art must be used to induce as many as possible to make a habit of calling, Marcus must become able to greet all those people by name 'Make the faculty you possess of recognizing people conspicuous and go on increasing and improving it every day I don't think there is anything so popular or so conciliatory' Still more important was it for Marcus always to be accompanied by a large throng in his daily visit to the Forum. Quintus recommended his brother to go down to the Forum at fixed times because 'the daily escort by its numbers produces a great impression and confers great personal distinction'. We can believe this the better when we remember that there were no newspapers or other publicity devices open to Roman statesmen.

Outside the circle of friends were the 'neighbours, clients, freedmen and even your slaves, for nearly all the talk which forms one's public reputation comes from domestic sources'. Then came the broad social classes about whom Quintus encouraged Cicero to believe that he could count upon 'all the business men, nearly the whole of the equestrian order, many municipal towns' and 'a large number of the rising generation who have become attached to you in their enthusiasm for rhetoric' The most tricky of all to win over would be the aristocrats, the *optimates,* the men into whose exclusive circles Cicero was hoping to enter 'All these men must be canvassed with care. Agents must be sent to them and they must be convinced that we have always been at one politically with the *optimates* and that we have never been demagogues' The Roman *equites* ('Knights')

along with the loyalists and wealthy must also be brought to believe that Cicero was 'eager for peace and quiet times' To talk like this and at the same time to tell Marcus that he had 'already won the city populace' and that 'the people think of you as not likely to be hostile to their interests from the fact that in your style of speaking and in your declared convictions you have been on the popular side' shows how a politician can delude himself into believing that he could reconcile the irreconcilable and make the best of all worlds But Quintus had not lost all powers of distinguishing between honesty and lack of principle He excused himself by saying 'There is great need of a flattering manner which, however faulty and discreditable in other transactions of life, is yet necessary during a candidature.' Combined with flattery of friends went the opposite treatment for the enemies; 'See if possible that some new scandal is started against our competitors for crime or looseness of life or corruption, such as is in harmony with their characters '

Quintus Cicero was evidently a man of few illusions, he knew what won and lost elections No nonsense from him about the supreme importance of a programme full of high ideals for the betterment of the human race, of campaign pledges, or of fervid professions of faith in this or that remedy for public troubles Instead, a set of severely practical suggestions on the supremely important problem, 'how to win more votes than the other fellow' Cicero, although a moralist and philosopher, was sufficiently a politician to realize the need for votes and he accordingly bent all his energies to winning them One weapon he seems to have disdained He does not seem to have sought to buy votes by outright bribery, neither did Quintus recommend that he should do so Their joint plan of action seems to have been to try to prevent their opponents giving bribes by threatening their agents with all the penalties of the law Men who took bribes could not be punished as they would be under English law, but those who offered bribes were liable to severe penalties

Cicero as Consul 63 B C

Fortunately for Cicero the other candidates were less acceptable to the governing class than he was So in 63 B C he became Consul together with a political nonentity named C. Antonius Hybrida

This man, 'afraid of his own shadow' to use the description by Cicero's brother Quintus, was only too glad to lie low and do nothing provided that he could make sure of a rich province after his year of office Cicero, who did not want a province, easily satisfied him with the promise of Macedonia 63 B C was therefore Cicero's year He never forgot it and did his best to ensure that nobody else forgot it either For it turned out to be a year of crisis The foundations of political life in Rome had not been stable since the times of Sulla and Marius thirty years earlier It was as though the political world had become volcanic, liable at any moment to violent eruptions Unlike the Consuls of more settled times, Cicero found that winning his election was merely the beginning of his troubles

What above all alarmed the men active in public affairs was the tremendous power of Pompey Those with much to lose were the least happy, and of them all, Pompey's former colleague, Crassus, now immensely rich, was most uneasy By outward appearance he had not done badly After being Consul in 70 B C., he became Censor in 65 B C But the highest political offices were now somewhat of a sham if the occupant had no legions to pit against a rival like Pompey, at the head of an army Crassus had reason to be nervous His father and his brother had been killed for opposing Marius and Cinna He had himself known how strong was the urge to have rich men put out of the way by proscription lists so that their property should be at his disposal, and he had given all his energy and enthusiasm to the supreme task of becoming rich He was himself therefore ripe for a proscription list and he had no assurance, when Pompey returned with his army and fleet from the East, that one would not be compiled Consequently he bent his energies to building himself up politically His weapons were his money, his skill as an advocate, and the energy and intelligence with which he studied political tactics By defending wealthy clients, by lending money to influential Senators and rising young politicians and by buying votes in the *comitia,* he slowly fortified his position He needed helpers and he was shrewd enough to enlist the aid of a young, daring and supremely able aristocrat, Gaius Julius Caesar, then beginning to make his way in political life. After serving as Quaestor in Spain in 68 B C , he became Aedile in Rome in 65 B C , when he astonished the populace by the incredible magnificence of the games and free banquets he lavished

upon them His aristocratic indifference to the huge cost of these celebrations was no doubt based upon his confidence that the bills would be underwritten by Crassus while he himself would reap in full the benefits from the immense publicity value of the proceedings. The bills were certainly stupendous In time Caesar met them by finding over 19 million sesterces, nearly one-tenth of the public revenue of the Republic, an enormous sum to come out of the pocket of one individual About this time (69–68 B C), he lost his first wife, who had been a daughter of Cinna, and his aunt, the widow of Marius. At their funerals he forcibly reminded the city mob of his connexions with these two popular heroes, both hateful to the Senators

Crassus and Caesar, with little love for each other and still less genuine enthusiasm for the mob, were forced, when they combined, to align themselves against Pompey and to play the game of the 'popular' party in opposition to the Senate Had the Senators been intelligent enough to give their support to Pompey, whom they need not have feared as much as the schemes of Crassus and Caesar, it is unlikely that the pair would have long survived as a dangerous opposition. Instead, the preliminary skirmishes in what was to be a long and disastrous political war took place in the year when Cicero was Consul

His first big task was indeed the unpleasant duty of opposing a bill proposing vast measures of confiscation and resettlement as part of a plan for the redistribution of land among the poorer landless Romans The bill stood in the name of Rullus, an obscure Tribune of the People, but its author was Caesar and its motives were political rather than economic We know no more about the actual text of the bill than Cicero has preserved in his speeches against it, and he was concerned to inflame popular opposition, not to discuss it on its merits Ten men, armed with very wide power, 'ten kings' Cicero called them, were to administer its provisions The measure seems to have been so loosely drafted that Cicero was able to argue that it virtually empowered these commissioners to sell the whole of the possessions of the Roman people beyond the seas, all lands, palaces, buildings and other property in order to create a fund for the purchase of land in Italy for redistribution Rullus did not stop at that Egypt was not yet a Roman province, but that did not prevent him including, on the basis of a forged will purporting to convey the country to

Rome, the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman domain as part of his plan. There could be only one conclusion. His real aim was to put the fabulous wealth of the Pharaohs and their Greek successors, the Ptolemies, at the disposal of Caesar and Crassus in their struggle against Pompey.

There was small chance of Pompey and his friends overlooking such a threat, but the failure of the bill did not exhaust its utility. It was designed not so much to aid the poor as to make the poor hate the conservative politicians who were bound to oppose it. One of Caesar's aims seems to have been to hasten a show-down with the slow-moving conservatives who ruled Rome. The immediate effect of the new bill was to put Cicero 'on the spot' by facing him with the choice of incurring like the Gracchi the remorseless hatred of all influential Romans if he supported a bill more drastic and far-reaching than the Gracchan laws, or of losing popularity among the masses if he opposed it. Cicero, whose idea of justice included unquestioning belief in the sacred rights of private property, had to oppose the bill and he needed all his skill to secure its rejection.

Three times did he have to speak against it with all the authority of his consular position. Three times therefore he was in grave danger of being pilloried as the man who stood between the masses and their hopes of sudden gain. Caesar had struck a blow not merely at Cicero but at other more distinguished Romans upon whom Cicero had to depend, Pompey for instance. In other words Caesar was 'playing politics' while pretending to serve his fellow-men.

From this time onwards Cicero had to throw in his lot with the conservative classes, the *optimates*. He was soon to cement the ties with the blood of his opponents. Among his competitors for the Consulate, the one he feared most was a seedy aristocrat, Lucius Sergius Catilina. In low water financially, this man had tried to restore his fortunes on the usual lines by misgoverning the province of Africa as propraetor in 67 B.C. Accusations of corruption on his return made it impossible for him to run for the consulship of 65 B.C., but he succeeded by bribery in securing an acquittal which left him free to challenge Cicero in the following year. Cicero may well have felt the need for extreme caution because Catiline had the support of Julius Caesar, Crassus, the demagogues and the masses or 'the popular party'. Catiline's

failure by a few votes stirred him to more desperate moves. He was understandably goaded and enraged by Cicero's denunciations of him as unprincipled, ill-tempered and of reckless audacity. Evidently Cicero did not neglect the advice of his brother's electioneering manual, for he collected all the scandals and slanders he could find about Catiline, which were plenty, and flung them in his face. Cicero became Consul and left Catiline licking his wounds, nursing a heavy bill for election expenses and thirsting for revenge. Catiline tried to murder Cicero then, so Cicero said, but he was doubly determined to do so after he had again run for the consulship for the following year (62 B.C.) and had again been defeated in July 63 B.C. Like a bankrupt gambler, he had doubled the stakes on borrowed money only to plunge to final ruin.

The Treason of Catiline 63 B.C.

The steadily declining state of public morale in Rome had already produced scores of desperate men who surrounded Catiline as their leader, sharing his dissolute way of life and sponging on him for gifts and money. Crippled with debts and cursed with lavish tastes, they all, like Catiline, could see no solution for their troubles save in drastic measures of debt-repudiation and confiscation. Catiline's problem seems to have been that faced by decadent landowning aristocracies everywhere. Their capital was in their estates. In the early days of the Republic the Romans had been content to live on their estates. Now their fashionable descendants had to have money to burn in the gay city. How could they get it except by borrowing on the security of their landed property? This way was the road to ruin, for their income in money from their estates was soon unable to pay the interest on their debts. Thus did the development of a money economy combined with a sophisticated city life contribute to the downfall of the descendants of the stern and simple Roman fathers of the Republic. Many lesser men were equally involved in debt and equally therefore exposed to the harsh laws permitting the imprisonment and slavery of insolvent debtors. By making their cause his own, Catiline was perhaps able to confer upon his private ambitions some semblance of a respectable public policy. If so he was a singularly poor politician, because the alarm he caused among timid business men and financiers by his tactics

had in itself provoked an economic crisis in which men with money became exceedingly loth to part with it. They wanted their loans repaid and they refused to lend more Their attitude reduced many more people to the same straits as Catiline and his friends who sought political power in order to apply their revolutionary remedy of debt-reduction Being unable to succeed by fair means they resolved upon foul The story of the Catilinian conspiracy has long been one of the staple topics of Roman history The traditional account says that after being twice defeated as a candidate for the consulship Catiline planned to raise a private army from any riff-raff he could find, including Gauls if necessary, to occupy Rome, to murder Cicero and other prominent men, and to increase the general panic by setting fire to their houses and threatening the whole city with conflagration Cicero at length began to get more circumstantial evidence of what was being plotted Crassus and Caesar seem to have realized that their former protégé Catiline was becoming too dangerous and they are thought to have taken steps to make Cicero aware of the fact.

By some means Cicero learned enough to be able to make things so hot that Catiline, who at first tried to bluff his way out of the business, was forced to leave Rome Cicero still lacked firm proof of the full extent of the conspiracy, but the alarm already aroused had been sufficient to induce the Senate, on 21 October 63 B C , to pass the extreme emergency decree 'Let the Consuls see to it that the Republic incurs no injury ' Rather like our martial law, this decree could not set aside established laws but it powerfully increased the Consul's discretionary authority. By a great stroke of good fortune a few days later, some Gauls on a mission to Rome revealed an approach from some of Catiline's men who had remained in Rome, offering them immense bribes at the expense of the constitution and the finances of the Republic if they would get their fellow tribesmen, the Allobroges, to join the armed rising then being planned The news was brought to Cicero It gave him his opportunity He at once got the Gauls to send a reply to Catiline's men requiring the leading conspirators to give a written oath, signed and sealed, solemnly guaranteeing that they meant business when they sought help from the tribes of Gaul to enable Catiline to overturn the Roman Republic. To such depths had these violent men descended that four at once

gave their written guarantees They did not scruple to truckle to the age-long enemies of Rome.

The envoys were allowed to set out from Rome on their way back to their own country on the night of 2 December 63 B.C carrying upon them their damning evidence of Roman treason They had not gone far before they were intercepted and were brought, with their document, to Cicero. By these means Cicero was clearly able to prove the guilt of the four conspirators. He had them arrested, summoned the Senate, and so was able to prove that his suspicions of Catiline had been fully justified. Striving to remain constitutionally correct he consulted the Senate about the next step The offence of the conspirators was great and it richly merited the death penalty So thought the Senators until Caesar recommended life imprisonment instead Unable to carry the Senators with him Caesar nevertheless caused opinion to wobble until Cato vigorously demanded the death penalty. Cicero called for a vote and the Senate agreed with Cato Cicero thereupon had the men strangled in the City prison They were Roman citizens They had not been tried, neither had an appeal to the people of Rome against the death sentence been allowed

Five years later Cicero was to suffer bitterly for his neglect of an elementary principle of the Roman constitution, but for the time being he had reached a pinnacle of fame which few Consuls in ordinary years would hope to attain For nipping civil war in the bud he was acclaimed Father of his Country and became the proud recipient of an amount of fulsome praise almost sufficient to satisfy his own vanity in his achievement.

Catiline himself presented little serious difficulty After he had been forced out of Rome he tried to organize his few thousand followers and to march to join the Gauls His army was not properly organized and it was half-armed The disciplined, well-trained Roman forces which Cicero sent against him were easily able to prevent any such move Catiline and his motley gang were wiped out after turning at bay with the courage of desperation upon a Roman force of three legions (January 62 B C.).

So ended the Conspiracy of Catiline There could have been no other solution. Nevertheless writers of our day, determined at all costs to find in history something to give reality to their own dreams of eternal class warfare, have not hesitated to suggest that

Catiline has been unfairly treated, firstly by Cicero as the base tool of a degenerate oligarchy and later by biased plutocratic historians They ask if he was not really a champion of the poor against the owners of the money-bags. Such an interpretation will not stand examination, although we only have the official version of his exploits, not his own Neither do we know what Caesar and Crassus were really up to, but despite such uncertainties it is very difficult to regard Catiline as otherwise than reckless of national welfare, It is hard to believe that he really cared for the poor He was out for himself The poor were merely pawns in the all-engrossing game of personal political ambitions, a situation in which they have not seldom figured since the last century of the Roman Republic

Chapter Thirteen

THE DUEL OF POMPEY AND CAESAR AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Manoeuvring for Position

BEFORE long the sudden collapse of Catiline's sorry crew made the whole business something of a nine days' wonder, except to Cicero who frequently re-lived in memory his days of triumph. There were some Romans who were probably quite content that all memory of it should disappear as soon as possible. Caesar and Crassus, in particular, the leaders of the 'Popular Party', as they are often misleadingly described, had every motive to wish it forgotten. Their earlier association with Catiline had given rise to some dark suspicions which they had not been able entirely to allay. Sorting out the skeletons in the cupboards of Julius Caesar has never been a popular task amongst his many hero-worshippers. If it had been, more attention would no doubt have been given to his relations with Catiline. Compromised as he seems to have been, Caesar with his usual skill cut the connexion before Catiline became too dangerous. He had no doubt realized that he could not get the influence he wanted in the government of Rome by the indirect method of having a nominee elected as Consul. He must also have lost any illusions he may have had upon the ease and safety with which power could be won by revolution and armed rebellion. Yet he had at all costs to strengthen his personal political position. When Cicero was Consul, Caesar caused a sensation by getting himself elected, in spite of the fact that some venerable old gentlemen were also candidates, at the early age of thirty-seven as Rome's chief religious official, the *Pontifex Maximus*. His scanty interest in religious questions is the best measure of Caesar's political opportunism and still more of the frivolity of the Roman electorate. Caesar must have found many of the duties a bore although they immensely increased his personal prestige. For this exalted position was given for life. It provided him with an official residence and no doubt a con-

siderable measure of personal security His enemies would have to think twice before murdering so distinguished a religious figure, although this sacred office had not saved the life of Cicero's old friend and tutor Q. Mucius Scaevola, who had been slain by the son of Marius

To be *Pontifex Maximus* moreover did not pay Caesar's debts nor, what was really serious, did it get him far in the competitive struggle against Pompey, then easily the most powerful citizen of the Republic thanks to his vast command and large forces in Asia When did Caesar first get the idea that his best way of getting political power for himself would be through an alliance with the all-powerful Pompey? Some sort of understanding or bargain, of which Cicero was ignorant, may have been negotiated while Pompey was still in the East For Cicero failed to get the enthusiastic praise for his conduct as Consul which he clearly expected from Pompey. In December 62 B C, Pompey had returned to celebrate his triumph after the final conquest of the East He had created or reorganized four Roman provinces there – Asia, Bithynia, Cilicia, and Syria He had almost doubled the annual revenue of Rome He had organized the Eastern Mediterranean under Roman supervision and sent back a vast hoard of slaves and booty With such tremendous power and resources he could have taken anything he wanted in the way of power and influence Yet he amazed the Roman world by dismissing his army All that he asked was to be allowed to celebrate his triumph, which he did, on 28 September 61 B C, with the most immense spectacular show, befitting the last large-scale looting expedition which Romans were able to make against the East After the stupendous parade of his amassed booty of gold, jewels, precious stones, and works of art he discarded Alexander the Great's tunic which he had worn in the procession and became once more a private citizen of the Roman Republic

Had he so chosen, he could very easily have defied the law and custom of Rome just as Sulla did, keeping his army and using it if necessary to compel his fellow citizens to obey him as the uncrowned king of Rome Many Romans fully expected him to do so Some, including perhaps Cicero, secretly hoped he would do so Not of course for any special love of Pompey, still less for any desire for a military dictatorship, but because they could see no other way of preventing the breakdown of effective government

If Pompey does not seize power, they may well have thought, somebody else will, and who could tell but that it might be left to the wild men, the self-appointed champions of the masses of the people? Pompey might not be very good but anyone else, Crassus or Caesar, for example, might be very much worse.

Whether Pompey failed to take the plunge into one-man rule because the idea was too new and too stained by the examples of Marius and Sulla, whether he was disgusted with politics and with the narrow, self-seeking yet unruly political schemers, whether he lacked sufficient energy and drive, or whether he just did not know what to do and had no far-reaching political plans at all, as his puzzle-headed face suggests, will probably never be known. It has even been suggested that he had already struck a bargain with Caesar and was merely biding his time, but this seems most improbable. It was not for such a reason that he would not congratulate Cicero on his exploits against Catiline. He would, so one theory goes, have been more pleased if Catiline had defeated the Consul so that he, Pompey, might have had the glory of coming to the rescue of the Republic. The probable explanation of his attitude is rather his good opinion of himself and the complacency with which he regarded all the smaller men who had never possessed a command such as his, who could not, as he was certain he could, quickly recruit a new force just as big merely by the magic of his name. The vast fortune he had made in the East no longer left Crassus in the unique position he had formerly occupied. What alone seems certain is that any Roman politicians who believed that Pompey's failure to seize power was a true testimony to the vitality of Roman Republican traditions were deluding themselves.

Pompey was the last great Roman commander of the Republic voluntarily to renounce supreme power. His example merely proved to others, particularly to Julius Caesar, what a fool he had been. The behaviour of the Senate showed little gratitude or understanding for Pompey's undoubtedly great achievements in stamping out tens of thousands of pirates, releasing the prisoners and the plunder they had taken, and in bringing what seems to have been a wise and statesmanlike order into the vast confusion of Asiatic politics. So badly did the Senators behave that Pompey himself must have realized the folly of his self-denial. For the Senators would not, as he asked, approve his settlement of the

East as a whole They insisted upon examining it in detail, country by country and point by point, and they began to offer criticisms of this matter and that What was worse, they refused to provide land settlements for his demobilized soldiers The irony of the situation lay in the fact that Pompey had filled the Roman Treasury with part of the proceeds of his Eastern campaigns, so the Senators had little justification for pretending, as they did, that the State could not afford the rewards for which Pompey asked

Self-help with or without the Senate was clearly the only path for a politician to take if he meant business and did not intend to suffer frustration at the hands of feeble opponents who had no plans of their own but would prevent action by others Henceforward the political struggles of Rome were less over laws designed to bring economic and social reform than over measures contrived by clever politicians to embarrass their opponents and to advance their own fortunes Such was Julius Caesar's land bill presented by Rullus and defeated by Cicero in 63 B C Political tactics designed on these lines have been common enough in our own times In a swift revealing phrase, Napoleon summed up the tremendous cataclysm of the French Revolution by saying that 'Vanity made the Revolution, Liberty was only the pretext'. So also, in our own day, the totalitarian revolutionary programmes to win power at all costs and by any manoeuvre, concealing entirely selfish motives under specious plans for the public good, find many parallels in the degenerate latter days of the Roman Republic

The First Triumvirate and the First Consulship of Julius Caesar

In 60 B C Pompey made another unsuccessful effort to get a land bill passed providing land for his veterans The Senators, who succeeded in obstructing him, had won a barren victory, for they drove Pompey finally into an alliance with Caesar The two most powerful men in Rome combined forces and there was nobody to oppose them, particularly as they were very soon joined by Crassus, king of the money-makers of the city The alliance of these three men, known to later ages as the First Triumvirate, relegated the old Republican machinery of government to the scrap heap. The alliance between Caesar and Pompey

was cemented by a strong personal tie Pompey married Julia, the charming daughter of Julius Caesar, in the following year, when Caesar became Consul for the first time (59 B C)

As soon as Caesar, as Consul, had to accept full responsibility for his own measures, nothing more was heard of the grandiose scheme for land-resettlement proposed by Rullus to embarrass Cicero Instead Caesar did little more than create, from the wealth of the Near East, a fund from which to buy land in Italy to provide for some of Pompey's demobilized men and to find a few allotments for the Roman poor The plan, modest as it was, excited violent animosity in the Senate Caesar therefore took it direct to the people and 'rail-roaded' it through in the teeth of senatorial opposition and despite the pathetic attempts of his fellow-Consul, Bibulus, to rule him out of order on religious grounds Caesar's action was illegal and everyone knew it. The high-handed way in which he proceeded led the wits to describe the year 59 B C. as the Consulate of Julius and Caesar instead of Bibulus and Caesar To teach the opposition a lesson he next proceeded to seize the last fertile land in Italy belonging to the Roman people, the Campanian land taken from the city of Capua as punishment for its aid to Hannibal Such a move was inevitably clumsy and unjust, for it drove many smallholders from their plots to make room for newcomers, or, if the occupiers were allowed to stay, it made them pay rent to the new owners. In either case the Treasury suffered a total loss as rents for the land were no longer public property

The opposition was fierce and every constitutional method was tried in order to prevent Caesar's plans being adopted Caesar had an answer He had, it is true, been deprived of an army command because the Senators saw to it when his election seemed likely that his 'province' after his year of office should be supervision of the cattle tracks and forests of Italy In the first few months of his year as Consul, Caesar got one of the Tribunes, P Vatinius, to propose and carry through the public assembly a law giving him the province of Cisalpine Gaul for five years with an army of three legions. When the newly-appointed governor of Transalpine Gaul suddenly died, the Senators, as though despairing of further resistance, gave his province also to Caesar, with another legion Caesar soon set about recruiting his forces and by stationing them near Rome he completely overawed his oppo

nents The Senate, as a constitutional force, simply collapsed Caesar was Dictator in all but name

The same shameless illegality and tough political bargaining is seen in another political deal put through by the Triumvirate during Caesar's consulship Crassus, one of the trio, with his business friends found that they had made a bad bargain by offering the State too high a sum for the right of collecting public revenues in the Eastern province of Asia They had been trying to get relief for some time Cicero, who rarely refused to help the business men, promised his support but privately he was outspoken 'The case is scandalous, the demand a disgraceful one and a confession of rash speculation ' He excused his support for the swindle by the need for harmony between the social classes. 'There was a very great risk that if they got no concession they would be alienated from the Senate.' Caesar, who did not want them alienated from Julius Caesar, obligingly had a law passed despite the opposition of many Senators reducing the sum they had contracted to pay by one-third Up went the price of the stock of the lucky company and some respectable fortunes were soon made at public expense

Finally Pompey's Eastern conquests and provincial arrangements, which had not yet been legally accepted by the Roman Government, were formally ratified Both Crassus and Pompey thus had their rewards from the partnership

Caesar's year as Consul in 59 B C was given up almost entirely to political manoeuvres and shady deals of this sort, many of them driven through by strong-arm tactics and in complete defiance of established constitutional rules and practices Caesar heeded neither the protests of the Senate nor that of his consular colleague All opposition was ignored or silenced To be sure the opposition was not very enlightened, but Caesar's way of meeting it was that of a political gangster

Moreover, he emerged from his year of office with a term of power as proconsul in Gaul of over four years, with unusual powers to select his own chiefs of staff and to found colonies at his own discretion, and an army large enough to protect him from any attack that his enemies might seek to mount against him in revenge for the high-handed treatment he had meted out to them as Consul Beyond Gaul might be unpredictable possibilities of conquest and of enrichment. Caesar was thus set up with a

powerful command in much the same way as Pompey had been against the pirates and against Mithridates nine years earlier

Apart from such personal self-seeking, what had Caesar to show in the way of laws for strictly public purposes? He collected and improved previous laws attempting to safeguard the provinces against plundering Roman governors, and he arranged to publish a public gazette giving the text of resolutions of the Senate, of the new laws of the people as well as important public news. That was about all The publicity for the activities of the Senate was however mainly designed to discredit it in the eyes of the Roman masses For a few minor improvements such as these, the Romans paid the supreme sacrifice of their constitution and traditional form of government Such was Caesar's enduring influence and example that five years later Cicero said that since Caesar's consulship there had been 'no genuine Consuls, but mere hucksters of provinces, mere agents and slaves of sedition'.

Political Gangsters and Riots in Rome

When Caesar left Rome for his new command in 58 B C. he left the troublemaker P Clodius behind Clodius was a Claudius, one of the proudest patrician houses of Rome His family was as old as the Republic Twelve generations of Claudii, all of consular rank, lay between him and the founder of his house, Appius Claudius Sabinus, who had been Consul in 495 B C Clodius was therefore unable to become a Tribune of the People as he wished to be Caesar, as Consul and *Pontifex Maximus*, had sanctioned the formalities by which Clodius was adopted as the son of a plebeian lad of nineteen years, many years younger than Clodius

Caesar rightly judged that Clodius would be able to keep the political cauldron simmering, a task at which he succeeded only too well Clodius struck at established authority by diminishing the power of the Censors to expel Senators (Clodius was a Senator) and abolishing the power of magistrates and priests to interfere in public business on religious grounds (Caesar had suffered from these powers at the hands of Bibulus, his colleague as Consul in 59 B C). Clodius became the darling of the mob by giving corn away as a free dole to all applicants and by abolishing the law which forbade working men to unite in their clubs or societies (*collegia*). The conservative and well-to-do classes were

fools enough to believe his assurances that he meant them no harm and he was able to get these laws passed As soon as he had reduced the power of his opponents and had been able to create organized groups bound to support him by the bribes of free wheat provided at the public expense, Clodius revealed himself as a political gangster operating on a grand scale He could not have become the head of these gangs unaided and he was not the man for whom the whole plot was to work When Caesar helped Clodius to become first a plebeian and then a Tribune he knew what he was about In this he no doubt had the active support of Caesar's partner in the Triumvirate, Crassus, who hated Cicero for having defeated his tool, Catiline, and for his successful opposition to the land bill of Rullus through which Crassus and Caesar had hoped to gain resources against Cicero's hero, Pompey

But Clodius was not without some private ambitions of his own, and the one to which he was most devoted was to revenge himself upon Cicero He was still smarting from the disgrace in which he had been involved in the year 62 B C when, disguised as a woman (not a very difficult disguise for his girlish features), he got into the house of the *Pontifex Maximus* at night during a state function, the chief festival of the Bona Dea, at which women only were allowed to be present The *Pontifex Maximus* was of course Julius Caesar, and his wife Pompeia was in charge of the ceremonies Clodius was already suspected of an intrigue with her and the whole affair caused an immense scandal Caesar, whose own morals were the jest of the town, took advantage of the occasion to divorce his wife on the grounds that 'Caesar's wife must be above suspicion' The more sober-minded citizens probably relished this cynicism as little as they approved the sacrilege of Clodius, who was duly brought to trial He tried to get off on an alibi, swearing that he was at Interamna, ninety miles away from the city, during the festival, but Cicero testified that he had seen him in Rome three hours before the crime Had the trial been honestly conducted Clodius would certainly have been condemned But he managed to pack the jury Describing them in a letter to his friend Atticus, Cicero said 'There was never a seedier lot round a table in a gambling hell Senators under a cloud, *equites* out at elbow, Tribunes who were not so much guardians of public treasure as seekers of treasure on their own

account' (a play on their official title, i e 'bribe takers' instead of 'tax collectors') Clodius was saved by the gold of Crassus, who 'in two days' time, by the agency of a single slave, and one too from a school of gladiators, settled the whole business – he summoned the jurors to an interview, made a promise, offered security, paid money down Still further, good heavens, what a scandal! even favours from certain ladies, and introductions to young men of rank were thrown in as a kind of tip to some of the jurors' Despite these precautions twenty-five of the fifty-six jurors, risking death at the hands of the gang, voted Clodius guilty, but the thirty-one in favour of his acquittal carried the day. 'A perfectly notorious fact has been hushed up by bribing the jury' was Cicero's comment He did not spare Clodius himself 'I overwhelmed Clodius in the Senate to his face, both in a set speech, very weighty and serious, and also in an interchange of repartee' Clodius had taunted Cicero with his country origin in Arpinum, accusing him of being seen at the fashionable sea resort of Baiae where the bourgeois were out of place and asking 'What business has an Arpinate with hot baths?' Cicero retorted, 'It is as though you were to say I had been in disguise' Not relishing this reference to his own escapade, Clodius went on to jeer at Cicero about his new house '"You have bought a house," says he "You would think that he said," I answered, "'You have bought a jury.'" "They didn't trust you on your oath," said he "Yes," said I, "twenty-five jurors did trust me, thirty-one didn't trust you, for they took care to get their money beforehand" Here he was overpowered by a burst of applause and broke down without a word to say'

The whole wretched business alarmed Cicero, as well it might. A year later he said that it had first brought home to him 'the insecurity and rotten state of the law courts' It also earned him the undying hatred of Clodius Cicero did not spare Clodius and would not let him forget his disgrace When Clodius had become a candidate for the tribuneship and 'when the matter was mooted in the Senate, I cut the fellow to pieces', wrote Cicero 'On his saying that he had completed the journey from the Sicilian Straits in seven days, and that it was impossible for anyone to have gone out to meet him, and that he had entered the city by night, and making a great parade of this in a public meeting, I remarked that that was nothing new for him Seven days from Sicily to Rome,

three hours from Rome to Interamna Entered by night, did he? So he did before No one went to meet him? Neither did anyone on the other occasion ' And so on Three years after the scandal Clodius, now a Tribune thanks to Caesar's influence and the money of Crassus, was able to strike As soon as he had established himself he proposed a law making exile or death the penalty for anyone who should condemn or had already condemned a Roman citizen to death without giving him the right to appeal to the vote of the people This was no new doctrine, for the right was said to have been guaranteed by the Twelve Tables

Cicero Exiled

Cicero was thoroughly frightened He had been too impressed by his own achievements as Consul to see the need to safeguard his position He flattered himself that 'Ever since I won what I may call the splendid and immortal glory of the famous fifth of December [the day on which he had Catiline's conspirators executed] I have never ceased to play my part in the Republic in the same lofty spirit ' But he had no party of his own behind him and he had disdained to make himself indispensable to those who had secured that power in the State which the Senate and magistrates no longer really controlled Too vain and too irresolute, he had failed to take precautions to meet the political hurricane which he had the intelligence to see was on its way When it broke he was swept before it Clodius got his law passed and Cicero was an obvious victim for its retrospective penalty Nobody would act to save him although very many were genuinely distressed to see him go He appealed in vain to Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus Caesar wished to weaken the Senate and Cicero was the most powerful influence on the side of the Senate in Roman politics So Cicero had to be taught a lesson Crassus hated him, and Pompey, put out by Cicero's vainglorious boasting of his achievements as Consul and by his presumption in regarding himself as Pompey's equal, would not risk opposing his two partners in order to save him A broken man, he fled to Greece in March 58 B C Clodius at once had his lavish town house destroyed But when he came to putting Cicero's property up to auction there were no bidders. Clodius got one of his creatures to acquire the site of Cicero's town house, on which he thereupon put a small

temple of Liberty so that Cicero would not again be able to build on dedicated soil.

Encouraged by his success and intoxicated by such exhibitions of his power, Clodius seems to have forgotten the men to whom he owed his position Before his year of office was up he was violently attacking Pompey, who at length consented to act on behalf of the strong public opinion demanding Cicero's recall. With his armed gang of toughs, Clodius broke up any opposition. He threatened to burn down Pompey's house and to kill him Pompey, not long since the most powerful man in the world, locked himself up in his house as in a besieged fortress

The expense of maintaining the mob on free wheat was meanwhile mounting and to pay for it Clodius began to use the treasure brought back by Pompey from the East Stung to action, Pompey set about organizing an opposition He got Caesar to agree to Cicero's recall on condition that he made no further trouble for the three rulers of Rome, and for Caesar in particular, but Clodius was too much for him. He madly turned against Caesar and sought an alliance with Caesar's opponents with a promise that he would declare Caesar's land laws null and void At length his year of office as Tribune came to an end but not before he had thoroughly confused and alarmed the whole city Although his legal power had lapsed he kept his gang of blackguards and endeavoured through them to maintain his position. When a law for Cicero's return was proposed in January 57 B C , he and his gang broke up the meeting and left the Forum running with blood.

In the absence of any police or armed force to keep order, Clodius seems to have been able to do as he liked It was not until another Tribune, Milo, took matters into his own hands, bought a band of gladiators and faced Clodius with a rival gang of cutthroats that, seven months later, at the cost of another riot and more bloodshed, a law was eventually passed on 4 August 57 B C. recalling Cicero.

Chaos and Confusion in Rome

Politics in the city had gone from bad to worse during Cicero's absence Caesar was away in his province of Gaul darting hither and thither in search of a success which would serve to build up

his reputation in Rome Failing to make any impression upon them by the news of his victories he announced the conquest and annexation of Gaul He was far from having overrun the whole country but his bluff succeeded and it caused a wave of excitement and enthusiasm throughout Italy sufficiently intense to get him all the political support he needed He journeyed as far as Luca to meet his two uneasy partners in power, Pompey and Crassus, succeeded in re-cementing their crumbling alliance and at once returned to try to make his conquests the reality he had pretended them to be (April 56 B C)

Pompey had already had his fill of military glory and he had made his pile in foreign conquests Crassus, the third member of the Triumvirate, had no need of money This ageing banker had inherited 300 talents from his father, itself a fortune, and had increased it to 7,000 talents (168 million sesterces) by a mixture of skill and sharp practice at the expense of his less fortunate fellow Romans His wealth and his ability as a political 'fixer' had given him his political power, but he was not content He hankered after an army of his own, perhaps to make himself independent and truly the equal of his more powerful partners Perhaps also he longed for military glory At all events he became ambitious to attack Parthia, the only country now remaining on the borders of the Roman Empire likely to yield an immense store of booty. Rome had no quarrel with the Parthians but nothing would content the old man until he was entrusted with an expedition against them At the conference with Caesar he got agreement for his plans and at once set about organizing his expedition. His energy and vigour, which would have been honourable in a better cause, met the just reward of purely aggressive warfare His campaign failed after his defeat at Carrhae, May 53 B C

Crassus failed because he exposed his troops to the swiftly mounted Parthian bowmen on the desert wastes where they had no natural cover It was not that the Romans had never faced arrows before What was new was the almost unending hail of them The Parthians had brought up ammunition trains in the shape of camels loaded with arrows and the Romans could never get to grips with them Their own cavalry was inadequate and the result was that they were shot to pieces Crassus lost his son in a skirmish and, a brave but pathetic figure, he was forced to retreat, pursued by the harassing fire of the Parthian archers. Driven by

his men to discuss terms with the Parthians, he and his staff were treacherously slain by the enemy so that the Roman army was in worse plight than before. Scarcely a quarter of them managed, after great hardship, to struggle back to Syria.

When the news of this disaster reached Rome in July 53 B.C., it was not counterbalanced by more encouraging reports from Gaul. Despite his boasted conquest of Gaul and then of Britain in 55 and 54 B.C., Caesar was still up to his neck in difficulties. His struggles against the stubborn tribes seemed never to end. The fighting got fiercer and more bloodthirsty. Year after year Caesar was faced with one danger after another and nothing but his energy, his amazing genius and the loyalty he had inspired among his troops saw him through. The sufferings of the wretched Gauls must have been appalling as Caesar murdered and exterminated whole tribes of men, women and children by the hundred thousand, looted and burned their habitations. The climax came in the grisly scenes at the siege of Alesia in 52 B.C., when, after each side had endured hardships beyond breaking-point, Roman discipline carried the day and Vercingetorix, the redoubtable leader of the Gauls, was finally captured. With Roman brutality Caesar kept this warrior chief, whose crime was to have sought to defend his people, for six years in captivity, then paraded him through Rome in his triumphant victory march and afterwards had him murdered in the Roman gaol. Yet, by the standards of the time, Caesar could claim, with general consent, that clemency was one of his outstanding qualities.

Pompey, who now with Caesar alone controlled the fate of the Republic, remained in Rome. He had been given command in Spain (54 B.C.) but he left the work to his staff officers and did not leave the vicinity of Rome. He had not made the most of his opportunities. He would not even bestir himself to keep order in the capital city of the world. Cicero, who got an immense ovation from the public when he returned, nevertheless found his enemy Clodius as much of a menace as ever. He had succeeded in getting back the site of his house with an inadequate sum of money to enable him to rebuild. But Clodius would not leave him alone. 'On the third of November,' wrote Cicero in 57 B.C., 'the workmen were driven from the site of my house by armed ruffians, the house of my brother Quintus was first smashed with volleys of stones thrown from my site, and then set on fire by order of

Clodius, firebrands having been thrown into it in the sight of the whole town, amidst loud exclamations of indignation and sorrow, I will not say of the *loyalists*, for I rather think there are none, but of simply every human being That madman [i e Clodius] runs riot, thinks after this mad prank of nothing short of murdering his opponents, canvasses the city street by street, makes open offers of freedom to slaves ' A week later, 'on the eleventh of November, as I was going down the Sacred Way, he followed me with his gang There were shouts, stone-throwing, brandishing of clubs and swords, and all this without a moment's warning I and my party stepped aside into Tettius Damio's vestibule, those accompanying me easily prevented his roughs from getting in '

Why was nothing done about such lawlessness? The havoc wrought by gang warfare in a city without a police force may have been a hazard which the wealthy with their private bands of armed retainers were prepared to run, but for most people it must have been a frightful menace. They may well have been ready to pay almost any price to be freed from their chronic sense of insecurity Cicero and his friends did little except talk, as a brief account of a debate in the Senate in December 57 B C will show The Consul-designate, Marcellinus, complained in 'serious tones of the Clodian incendiarism, massacres and stonings' Cicero was called upon for his opinion Describing the scene to his brother Quintus, he said 'I made a long speech upon the whole story of P Clodius's mad proceedings and murderous violence I impeached him as though he were on his trial, amidst frequent murmurs of approbation from the whole Senate ' Cicero was not lacking in courage Clodius was in his seat in the Senate and his roughs were outside crowding on the steps of the Senate House, shouting and yelling

The incident typifies the impotence of the Senate, for the gang warfare of Clodius and his opponent Milo went on until January 52 B C, when Clodius was at last caught with an insufficient escort and was murdered by Milo's gang For five years he had been at large, a terror to the city Cicero defended Milo, on trial for his life, but his crime was flagrant and he sought to escape inevitable condemnation by going into exile Pompey, still pro-consul commanding Spain from Rome, was summoned by the Senate to restore public order as sole Consul, a task which he

rapidly completed But his sudden show of energy in bringing to an end a disgraceful state of confusion, which he or Caesar might earlier have arrested, was no sign that constitutional government was returning to Rome

Writing to his brother then serving under Caesar in Gaul in the autumn of 54 B C., Cicero had already summed up the position, when he said 'You must see that the Republic, the Senate, the law courts are mere ciphers and that not one of us has any constitutional position at all' He was right The Republic was at an end The long-drawn-out uncertainty and lack of security must have made hundreds of sober, substantial but non-political Romans long for settled, orderly government It was difficult to see how it was to be provided unless a properly constituted administrative authority were given supreme power and left undisturbed to use it

The situation had become desperate through the incompetence of the oligarchy, the unrestrained ambition of lawless men, and the failure to create an efficient executive machinery of government and to link it with and subordinate it to the policy-making authorities (Senate and People) Unless one man could be given a free hand to set up the authority to make the rules and ensure that they were obeyed, it seemed impossible to make any progress. Yet nobody could bring himself to accept the idea, still less to say who that one man should be There were only two possible candidates, Pompey and Caesar Relations between the two had steadily worsened. Pompey's wife, Julia, to whom he was devoted, was well able to keep the peace between her husband and her father, but she died in September 54 B C The disappearance of Crassus in the following year left Caesar and Pompey face to face. Caesar was still in Gaul hardened by five years' exhausting campaigns and protected from the consequences of his many illegal actions while Consul only as long as he stayed there or obtained an equally powerful position elsewhere He therefore wished to become Consul again when his term of service in Gaul finally ended in 49 B C From afar he played a very clever game in the politics of Rome He was well and secretly served during the year 50 B C by a young member of the aristocracy, C. Scribonius Curio, who posed as the champion of the Senate against Caesar With great ingenuity he pointed all the arguments against Caesar so that they really attacked Pompey The arguments were all designed to make the world believe that Curio's one aim was

to restore full power to the Senate Consequently he assumed senatorial support for the demand that Pompey should disband his forces if Caesar was asked to relinquish his command and he resolutely vetoed the appointment of a successor to Caesar The fact that he had been heavily bribed by Caesar does not seem at first to have leaked out, so he was able thoroughly to confuse the situation and to gain precious time for Caesar while steadily undermining Pompey's position

Caesar Crosses the Rubicon

The situation had become thoroughly unstable The lack of trust of the two chief actors in each other, the deep suspicions with which both were regarded by the Senate, produced a situation so inflammable that the least thing might suffice to start a conflagration Rumours began to circulate that Caesar was on the march A strong party of appeasement in the Senate was silenced by fear of the power of Pompey who had some troops near the city So when the Consuls called upon Pompey to save the State against Caesar there was nothing left but to fight it out Caesar had behaved with studious correctness, making the minimum demands and asking for nothing beyond the essential guarantee that he should not be expected to return unarmed to fall into the hands of his enemies But when the Consuls commissioned Pompey against him he no longer needed a pretext but with his usual dash and energy he marched at once. On the night of 10 January 49 B C, with only one legion, he crossed the Rubicon, the little stream which separated his province from Italy, and quickly occupied Ariminum Pompey was caught unprepared He had not mobilized an army when Caesar overran his recruiting-ground of Picenum and began to enlist the very men upon whom Pompey had counted to join him To the clear-sighted it was already plain that in backing Pompey against Caesar the Consuls had made the Senate run a desperate hazard It was too late to draw back So swift was the advance of Caesar that Pompey could not maintain himself in Italy and was forced to leave for the East in the hope of being able to build up a force there Caesar nearly caught him at Brundisium but was unable to prevent his escape on 17 March 49 B C.

The conflict was no longer one between the Republic and an

autocrat as it had been in the days of the kings but between two would-be autocrats Whichever won, the Republic lost

It was the culminating tragedy not only in the life of Cicero and the men around him, but of all hopes of political democracy in the Roman Republic Cicero saw well enough what was coming and in 49 B C, when there could be little doubt that a fierce civil war between Caesar and Pompey was imminent, he was heartbroken 'It is not a proscription that is so much to be feared, as a general destruction, so vast are the forces which I see will take part in the conflict on both sides. Nothing can exceed the misery, ruin and disgrace. The sun seems to me to have disappeared from the universe '

Yet when the conflict had become a reality he was stunned He had to tell himself the facts, they were so unbelievable 'An army of the Roman people is actually surrounding Gnaeus Pompeius, it has enclosed him with fosse and palisade, it is preventing his escape. Are we alive? Is our City still intact? Are the Praetors presiding in the Courts, the Aediles making preparations for their games, the *optimates* entering their investments, myself quietly looking on?' He did not know what to do 'Troubles', he said, 'have made me stupid '

Old nightmares from the past must have risen up to shatter his peace The Social War between Italians and Romans and the civil war of Sulla and Marius during his youth and early manhood seemed to have been fought in vain The ghosts of Catiline and his conspirators walked again The crowds Caesar collected were the same crowds who followed Catiline 'What a crew! What an inferno! What a gang of bankrupts and desperadoes! Don't imagine that there is a single scoundrel in Italy who is not to be found among them I saw them *en masse* at Formiae I never, by Hercules! believed them to be human beings, and I knew them all, but had never seen them collected in one place '

Despite Caesar's friendly entreaty, Cicero resolved in June to leave Italy and to depart to Greece to join Pompey, not from any high opinion of Pompey's ability and not believing that the inevitable trend of events could be arrested 'The worst', he said, 'has come to the worst', and he left not for the sake of the Republic, 'which I regard as completely abolished', but 'because I cannot endure the sight of what is happening or of what is certain to happen '

He was right The Republic was dead The Roman people had travelled a long way in their political development since the heroic age to which Cicero, from the tragedy, strife and disasters of his own time, looked back with such vain longing

Caesar the Dictator

Caesar seems to have thought with good reason that his choice was the unenviable alternative 'slay or be slain' In what followed he seems to have been led on to supreme power rather than to have achieved it as a long-premeditated purpose His enemies in after years, Cicero among them, spoke as though Caesar had all along determined to become supreme in the State. But when Pompey eluded him and left Italy with many of the Senators to raise an army in the scene of his former triumphs in the East, what could Caesar do but accept the challenge? Before following Pompey, however, he had to make sure of Rome, his base, and the West After a few days in Rome, where he emptied the Treasury, he went to Pompey's province of Spain early in April 49 B C to remove the threat of the hostile army there Victorious at Ilerda in a lightning campaign, he then joined one of his lieutenants, Decimus Brutus, and reduced Marseilles which had declared for Pompey He then returned to Rome and in January 48 B C , with seven legions, he went to settle accounts with Pompey who was doing his best to collect an army and by a blockade to starve Italy His power seemed formidable, but Caesar, after being forced to retreat at Dyrrhachium, whither he had pursued Pompey with a small force, defeated him decisively, although outnumbered two to one, at Pharsalus on 9 August 48 B C Pompey escaped to Egypt where he was murdered by the wily Egyptians who did not want other people's wars brought within their own borders They had their own troubles Their young King Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra had been jointly left as co-rulers of the country by their father, but neither the ministers nor the army would recognize Cleopatra's right to share the throne

When Caesar arrived in Alexandria to make sure that Egypt would not become a stronghold of his enemies, his intervention was not welcomed. He was in fact blockaded in Alexandria and for about six months was in deadly peril Reinforced at last, he fought his way out of the trap King Ptolemy XII was drowned

in flight with his defeated forces, so Caesar had the task of placing Cleopatra firmly on her throne and winning her support for his cause He succeeded so well that their names have ever since been linked in one of the grand romances of history, to be rivalled by her later and fatal attachment to Marcus Antonius, one of Caesar's staff officers, the Mark Antony of English literature What truth there may be in the story involving her with Caesar rests upon few facts Caesar did not leave Egypt for three months after his rescue and his settlement of Egypt Shortly after his departure Cleopatra had a son who was given the name of Caesarion Later on, in 46 B C, probably with this infant, she came to Rome where she lived in royal state to the disgust of many Romans, Cicero included Thoroughly spoilt by the servility, adulation and snobbery of her Egyptian subjects, she was not to know that there was no glamour attached to the royal title in the eyes of Romans of the old school, Cicero included He called her 'The Queen' and could never remember without a twinge the insolent airs she gave herself while she was living in Caesar's villa across the Tiber She sought to make some amends later on, possibly when she had found her bearings in the new and, to her, strange social life of Rome, by promising Cicero some presents He hastened to explain that they would be 'all things of the learned sort and suitable to my character' They were probably books

After having been often in great peril but saved by a combination of great energy and greater good luck, Caesar had at last removed all the serious dangers threatening him from Italy, Spain, Marseilles and Egypt The Near East threatened trouble stirred up by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates (p 225). Thither Caesar went from Alexandria to write, so the story goes, from the battlefield of Zela early in August 47 B C his famous despatch, 'I came, I saw, I conquered' (*Veni, vidi, vici*)

Africa alone was able to cause trouble, for there were the remnants of Pompey's followers and the supporters of the Senate's cause Before going on to eliminate this last centre of opposition, Caesar returned to Rome On the way he met Cicero for the first time since he had tried in vain to dissuade him from joining Pompey Caesar must have heard the treacherous tales of Cicero's brother Quintus and his unpleasant son. Cicero had been languishing in Brundisium from July 48 B C. to September

47 B.C., miserable, bored, uncertain of his fate, and beset by family troubles His only daughter, his darling Tullia, could not bring herself to part from her scoundrel husband, Dolabella, and he was planning his own divorce from Terentia Life in Pompey's camp had been a second exile more hopeless and more depressing than his banishment from Rome; his stay in the dull and dismal port of Brundisium was a third The utter defeat and ruin of the Republican constitution, and with it the shattering of his own way of life, was the crowning misery What would Caesar do with him? At last Caesar came, after first sending a friendly letter. Nothing could have been more cordial than his greeting Cicero, again a free man, with one huge load off his mind but many remaining, set off at once for Rome, his villas and what was left of civilization But no independent place of political honour or distinction remained for him or anyone else in public life as long as Caesar lived

Meanwhile Caesar had still to deal with the diehard Republicans who, under leaders bearing the renowned names of Scipio and Cato, had for nearly a year and a half been collecting an army against him Caesar landed in North Africa, devoted three months to building up his forces and on 6 April 46 B C decisively defeated Scipio at Thapsus The slaughter of Caesar's enemies on that occasion was formidable Cato fled to Utica and committed suicide The gods, it was said, favoured the winning side but to Cato the losing side seemed the best A certain theatrical eccentricity characterized Cato's last action just as it had marked his whole life Yet it was an historic suicide, remembered and imitated in after years as being in accordance with the best traditions of the ancient Republic of which indeed it soon became a part Caesar feared Cato's stern spirit and wrote an 'anti-Cato' pamphlet against his ideas, but it has not survived

The defeated fugitives made their way to Spain, where in one last desperate encounter they were overcome by Caesar at Munda, 17 March 45 B C Again there were sickening losses. Caesar kept his promise that he would kill all those who continued to resist him

Whether, as he said later, Caesar had always been 'ambitious to be king of the Roman people and master of the whole world', Cicero was undoubtedly right when he added 'and he achieved it'. The achievement was due as much to the obstinacy of his

enemies as to his own implacable nature, for he showed on many occasions that he wished to spare Roman lives whenever he could. Circumstances had, however, made it inevitable that he should wade through slaughter to his throne. It would be as odd to blame the Republicans for trying to save what they could of the Republic as to blame Caesar for refusing to put his neck into the noose they had tied ready for him. From the head-on clash of irreconcilable wills there could be no issue save in complete victory for one side. The tragedy lay in the fact that matters had been allowed to drift into so disastrous a position.

The Failure of Julius Caesar

In contrast to the less resolute and less ambitious defenders of senatorial privileges and power, Caesar seems to have earned his victory. He was not afraid to grasp the wheel as the ship of state floundered in the hurricane. He was not merely Dictator (October 48 B.C.) but was reappointed as such for ten years in the summer of 46 B.C. with the proconsular power giving him command of all armies and the Censor's power controlling the lists of Senators, *equites* and citizens generally. He was given the great distinction of always being the first to vote in the Senate. As Dictator he was immune from the veto of the Tribunes, which meant that the common people lost their one defence, such as it was, against the arbitrary power of the magistrates. His power was tripled by reason of his full control over all public money and his authority to issue edicts which relieved him of the duty of consulting the Public Assembly. Elected *Pontifex Maximus* in 63 B.C. (p. 181), he added to his other powers as Dictator by being elected to all the priestly colleges as well. He became Dictator for life early in February 44 B.C. He dominated and 'streamlined' the lumbering old government machinery of the Roman Republic, controlling all the magistrates who were still nominally elected. But it was Caesar who nominated most of them for 'election' and he controlled the public assembly where the elections took place and where new laws were passed.

Never before had a Roman citizen allowed himself to receive honours and marks of distinction normally reserved for the gods. But Caesar hinted at the divine origin of his family. The fifth month in the Roman calendar, Quinctilis, was renamed Julius,

and the face of Caesar appeared upon the national coinage from the official Mint of the Republic where hitherto had figured the effigies of the gods These seemed like the acts of Eastern monarchs anxious for the blind adulation of their subjects (Plate 28)

Yet what was the alternative? The Republicans had no man to match against Caesar Their sorry champion Pompey, lacking almost all the qualities that made Caesar great, except ambition, certainly had neither the energy nor the skill demanded by the supreme task of directing the destinies of the Roman world

Cicero had no trust in Caesar's skill 'While we are his slaves,' he said, as preparations were being made in Rome for Caesar's fourfold triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa in his third consulate (46 B C), 'he is a slave to circumstance He is unable to say what is going to happen' But as time went on Caesar's conduct surprised and impressed Cicero, who confessed himself 'struck with astonishment at Caesar's sobriety, fairness and wisdom' He was amazed to find that 'every day something is done in a spirit of greater clemency and liberality than we feared would be the case' Caesar had no complete reform programme for Rome worked out in advance but he developed one as time went on Cicero's old friendship with Caesar seemed to be taking new roots On Caesar's side there was certainly no greater obstacle to the pleasures of society than the crushing demands made by public business upon his time Cicero and other consulars had to wait when they called on Caesar, so great was the work of ruling the world single-handed Cicero did not resent this so much as Caesar sympathetically feared he would What really poisoned life for Cicero was the realization that he was no longer free to live his old life of strenuous activity in the stimulating, exciting rough and tumble of politics in the Senate and in the crowded Forum No longer was there a free course for political talent and ambition There were no longer laurels and applause for practised old hands at the game of political oratory A feeling of unreality had come upon the scenes of Cicero's former triumphs, 'the men, the Forum and the Senate House' he wrote, 'are all utterly repulsive to me' Many old familiar faces were no longer there, for there had been a formidable blood-letting in that most disastrous civil war He could not resist a bitter jest 'Really? Does Brutus say that Caesar is going to join the *optimates*? That's good news! But where will he find them?

Unless by chance he should hang himself' – and seek them, that is to say, in the other world whither his soldiers had despatched so many *optimates* in the battles of those ruinous past five years (49–45 B.C.).

In spite of the best intentions, to which Cicero grudgingly bore witness, such efforts as Caesar was able to make during his short supremacy at Rome seem in the main opportunist and unplanned. From his policy of giving Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of northern Cisalpine Gaul in 49 B.C. he may be thought to have wished to facilitate the rule of the people. In fact he did nothing to transfer power to the people although it was under colour of promoting their interests that he had himself won supremacy. Similarly his changes in the Senate, whose membership he enlarged, had no deep significance because he did not intend to treat the Senate with more than an empty politeness. Complete concentration of all important decisions in his own hands was his policy. With his trained and loyal army behind him, it was a policy he could easily enforce. Although such despotism might serve the immediate interests of internal peace, as Tacitus, the bitter, incisive critic of the Caesars, later grudgingly admitted, it soured and embittered the old political aristocracy, and consequently could give no guarantee that the peace would last longer than the Dictator's life, as indeed events soon proved it could not. The peace itself was a fragile affair.

The social fabric of Rome had been shaken to its foundations. An economic collapse was a natural accompaniment of war between the citizens. To retain their armies in being, it had been necessary for the warring generals not merely to guarantee the pay of the troops but to outbid each other with additional bribes. Caesar himself had set the example when he doubled the pay of the common soldier, making it 900 sesterces a year.

To fight the civil war, larger Roman armies were assembled than had ever faced the enemies of Rome. Caesar left forces to garrison Gaul, Spain, and Italy and pursued Pompey to Greece with seven legions. Pompey had eleven under his command. After the clash at Pharsalus had eliminated Pompey in 48 B.C., Caesar absorbed what remained of the defeated army and collected about forty legions.

When he returned to Rome to celebrate his fourfold triumph, won mainly against Romans, there was no distinction between

Caesar's income and the revenue of the Roman Republic. The calls upon him were tremendous Every legionary soldier was rewarded during the triumph with 20,000 sesterces Each centurion had 40,000 sesterces and each military tribune 80,000 sesterces Nearly double the annual revenue of the Republic was needed to pay such rewards Their magnitude in relation to the normal pay of the troops is a revealing indication of the links between Caesar and the armed men whose support gave him supreme power

Faced with demands for liquid resources on such a scale, what could Caesar do except lay his hands on every source of wealth that he could find? Rich men and communities in Asia, Spain, and Egypt were forced to pay under every kind of pretext The property of his enemies, especially those slain in battle, became Caesar's property, although with the gallantry of a gentleman burglar he usually let widows keep their dowry Lands, houses, furniture, temple treasures were confiscated either to be divided up amongst his supporters or to be thrown on the market, which naturally could no longer absorb so much business Immensely valuable properties changed hands at ridiculous prices The lack of community spirit and the free scope given to inflated personal ambitions make this story of social disintegration a sad commentary upon the mass of enthusiastic writing in which men have sought to glorify the Roman character in general and that of Julius Caesar in particular To the men who had to live through this period it must have seemed one of appalling ruin produced by gangsterdom on the grand scale

After the civil war, Caesar's economic programme was on conventional lines set by the problems of the age and by previous efforts to deal with them There was the debt question, to be met by reducing money-lenders' rates of interest, and the land question, to be met by settling capable citizens on allotments of land that had become 'public' because it was owned by the enemies of Caesar or by their heirs Economies were obviously necessary after the great expense of the civil wars The free corn dole was reduced for that reason rather than for any desire to offend the mob But Caesar also abolished all the newer working men's clubs which Clodius had so industriously fostered when building up his political power Now that the mob, like the Senate, was under firm control, Caesar could draw in the reins New constructive schemes of real promise were not conspicuous Some

useful reforms such as tidying up the calendar and beginning a restatement of the laws of Rome and some large-scale public works such as draining the Pontine marshes and constructing a ship canal at Corinth were among his contributions to, or his unfulfilled plans for, the New Deal the Romans needed

He has sometimes been credited with beginning that permanent civil service for the lack of which the executive power of Rome was always notably less effective than it might have been But he did no more than to provide his own party, which Cicero no doubt thought of as his gang, with efficient staff officers His project of extending Roman citizenship widely to include Rome's subject races, such as those he had lived among for nearly ten years in Gaul, with other plans, remained visionary schemes reserved for a later age to pursue.

Useful and important as were some of his ideas, they did not amount to a New Deal, still less did they offer any hope of enlarging the lives of the masses and so of filling the vacuum of Roman social life with a new moral spirit We have seen dictators fail in our own day, despite their tremendous propaganda machines which for a time seemed likely to wield an influence over the minds of their victims at once more permanent and more pernicious than the physical force so savagely and so sadistically applied to their bodies Caesar had a rudimentary propaganda machine, made up of a few agents and political jackals in addition to his personal friends and the very much greater body of his legionaries who, no doubt, could be expected to 'back up the boss' For all his genius, he also would have been unable to stay the course He lacked adequate means of swaying or controlling men at a greater distance than his personal prestige and influence could reach, but even had he possessed a developed propaganda machine, he had no grand new idea, no *mystique*, by which he could guide, enchant, or bemuse the population of Italy His power, arising from his own outstanding character and genius, had to be built upon the personal followers he was able to get together by every means then known to an energetic, unscrupulous and ambitious man Some were attracted by bribes in the crude form of outright gifts of cash from Caesar's enormous funds provided by ten years' pillage in Gaul and the Low Countries, others were eager for remunerative jobs on his staff, while many were content to bask in reflected glory when the great

man turned his smiles and flattery upon them There was no doubt about Caesar's consummate ability to succeed with men on any of these lines Yet even so his recruits, apart from the solid ranks of his legions and his relatively few personal friends, came from the disaffected classes, from the needy debtors, the failures and misfits who always have a vested interest in social unrest A few more solid and respectable figures were no doubt also attracted, such as Italians smarting from wounds inflicted by Rome in the Social War, together with a few bankers and financiers concerned only to preserve their fortunes and led by their gambler's instinct to back Caesar to win We have seen how such classes in Germany backed Hitler to restore firm rule and to guarantee their fortunes and their profits It is most important, therefore, to remember that Caesar did no more than to recruit a gang He formed no political party Not one of his eager followers contributed anything of value to the Roman State Those of them who were active at all completed its ruin Some of the better Romans serving under him in Gaul left him before his final triumph

The proud Roman governing class as a whole naturally did not fall before his wiles They had a natural contempt for the riff-raff who flocked to Caesar Their families had not been supreme throughout the recorded history of Rome for them to bargain away their birthright for such comparative trifles as Caesar could offer, particularly when it never occurred to them to look upon any one member of their charmed circle otherwise than as an equal Why, when many of them had ample fortunes, should they take bribes from Caesar? Why, when the Roman people had constantly been willing in the past to make them Consuls, which to their way of thinking was all that Caesar should have been, need they depend upon him for a position of dignity in the State? No wonder, then, that Caesarism spelt uncompensated frustration to the haughty aristocrats of Rome Incompetent as many of them were, they had not all sunk so low that they were willing to compete with thugs and bullies for Caesar's favour or tamely to submit to a political impotence leading quite obviously to political extinction With them it was a matter of pride, so there was little point in appealing to their pockets Not till their ranks had been still further thinned by civil war, which again broke out after Caesar had been assassinated by the Republican 'Old Guard',

were their necks sufficiently bent for the yoke, but even then the yoke had to be designed and laid on with a gentler hand and with more tactful care than Caesar, for all his great personal charm, was able to command.

Cicero had no formula to facilitate that operation. He and many of his friends could not endure the thought that one man should have more power than the Republic. Did not the history of the Republic begin with a lesson upon the Roman's duty to assassinate a tyrant king? It was a Brutus who slew Tarquin. There was still a Brutus in Roman public life. He and one or two like-minded Senators, Cassius (probably the ringleader), Casca and Tillius Cimber, resolved to remove the tyrant. Cicero was not let into their conspiracy. How, with twenty-three daggers, they struck Caesar down in the Senate remains one of the most dramatic tragedies of Roman history.

The daggers of the assassins of the Ides of March 44 B.C. prevented Julius Caesar showing whether he could make a success of his programme, and ever since his countless hero-worshippers have been guessing that he would have proved the saviour of Rome. A more careful judgement suggests doubts. The task was tremendous, even for a man of Caesar's genius. He was always in a hurry. He never had time to spare to try to conciliate opposition. His unconcealed intention to retain absolute authority naturally antagonized everybody of any importance. Never before had Rome endured a Dictator who set no limit to the period of his dictatorship.

Cicero's Last Stand

The murder of Julius Caesar on 15 March 44 B.C. did not at first bring Cicero back into active politics. He spoke in the Senate on 17 March, but from then until the end of August he kept away from Rome and continued his philosophical writing. His books on the *Nature of the Gods*, on *Divination*, on *Fate*, on *Old Age*, on *Friendship*, and his best-known philosophical manual on *Duty* (*De Officiis*) were all written before the end of that year. In this last work he answers the many critics of his retired and scholarly way of life, still apparently strange to the majority of his countrymen. 'If the man lives who would belittle the study of philosophy,' he wrote, 'I quite fail to see what in the world he would see fit to

praise' A perfect retort to the low-brows of all time It was addressed to his boy who, as a student in Athens, was following in his father's footsteps, but not with his father's eager interest Cicero resolved to visit him and to find in the studious calm of Athens the peace that eluded him at home Bad weather held him back. Meanwhile the political situation in Rome in the months following the murder of Julius Caesar was increasingly ominous Cicero, misled by hopes that Caesar's assassins would succeed in giving the Republic renewed life and vigour, again threw himself into public affairs, in one last grand effort to give reality to his dreams of what the Roman Republic might be Had he known, said Lord Macaulay, what was necessary to his peace, he would never have left his library again for the maelstrom of Roman politics But Cicero could not rest among his manuscripts at a time when every political principle for which he had stood was in jeopardy and when honesty and public liberty were at stake. There was indeed a desperate need for a firm lead and a clear policy

The confusion of the times was tremendous Already a bare three weeks after the fatal Ides of March 44 B C, Cicero spoke to a friend who said to him, 'The state of things is perfectly shocking There is no way out of the mess, for if a man with Caesar's genius failed, who can hope to succeed ?' Cicero, reporting these words, added, 'I am not sure he is wrong' Six or seven weeks later he saw that the man was right 'I was a fool, I now see, to be consoled by the Ides of March The fact is we showed the courage of men, the prudence of children' Their lack of prudence was of course the failure of Caesar's assassins to plan their way through to making full use of the power they had knocked out of Caesar's grasp They acted as though the enfeebled form of the Roman Republic possessed a vitality of its own They seemed to think that, left to itself, its ancient glories would return There could have been no greater delusion The directing, executive task had been too much for Julius Caesar, well-equipped and fully supported as he was by a more efficient, obedient and well-organized body of subordinates than any Roman Consul had ever possessed. This vast concentration of power, influence, and wealth, got together by a man who alone knew how to use it, now awaited a new master

The folly of the assassins of 15 March is shown by the fact

that they did nothing to ensure the transfer of these huge resources to their own hands. The money available alone was a tremendous asset. Caesar's private estate was estimated at about 100 million sesterces. He left 700 million sesterces in the Treasury. More important than the money by far was Caesar's army, bound to him by gratitude, by oaths of allegiance, by a supreme confidence in their great commander and by a sense of their immense importance as the men who had decided the fate of the Republic.

Instead of being ready with plans to use these sources of power themselves, Caesar's murderers were so concerned to observe the proper constitutional rules that they practically handed them over to the surviving Consul, who was none other than Caesar's own henchman, Mark Antony. Some of the more clear-sighted of the senatorial party among the conspirators had been in favour of sending Antony to his doom along with Caesar, but they had been overruled by the sticklers for principle. Within two months Cicero, who had not been let into the plot, with many others bitterly regretted the failure to eliminate Antony, as well he might. For Antony, who must have been surprised to find himself alive, kept his head and soon saw that with Caesar's resources behind him he had a very good chance of standing up to the Senators. The people of Rome, who had been panic-stricken by Caesar's murder, were easily enraged against those who had so wantonly disturbed their hard-won tranquillity. In vain did Cicero trust his 'one hope, that the Roman people will at last show themselves worthy of their ancestors'. Opinion hardened against the assassins as, all too late in the day, they gathered their forces against Antony.

Cicero's gloomiest expectations which Caesar had shown to have been unjustified, as far as he was concerned, were fulfilled by the new civil war that thereupon broke out. Proscription, murder, and confiscation soon became the order of the day. At first there was a manoeuvring for position and a struggle for provinces that would provide an army and resources. Antony, with a bodyguard of armed men allowed him by the Senate on the pretence that it was needed to suppress the rioting by Caesar's followers that Antony himself did much to excite, was able to secure the great recruiting-ground of Cisalpine Gaul together with four of Caesar's legions. The province had already been assigned

to one of the assassins, Decimus Brutus, who was gathering an army there Antony saw that he would have to fight

A month after the assassination the situation was further upset by the arrival of Julius Caesar's lawful heir, his great-nephew C Octavius, then a young man of only nineteen years (44 B C) He wanted his share of Caesar's possessions, that is to say his private fortune as well as his name Antony, who had spent the money already, did his best to obstruct him, but Octavius anticipated legal justification and assumed the name of C Julius Caesar Octavianus and proceeded to set about raising an army of his own, to which he had no shadow of a claim He was successful, 'and no wonder', said Cicero, 'for he gives each man 500 *denarii*'. This was more than two years' pay of a legionary

Ignoring him with some contempt, Antony closed upon Decimus Brutus and seemed likely to eliminate him by besieging him in Mutina. It proved beyond the power of the senatorial forces under the command of Hirtius and Pansa, who had succeeded Antony as Consuls for the year 43 B C , to raise the siege alone In their desperate plight the Senators accepted Octavian as an ally upon the strong advice of Cicero who had much contact with the young man and who was above all desperately anxious to save Decimus Brutus With this new force and their own army the Consuls at length defeated Antony although they both lost their lives in the ensuing actions Octavian was then left in command of their armies

The alliance between Caesar's heir and the Senate on behalf of Caesar's murderers, never cordial on either side, broke down as soon as the Senate thought itself strong enough to dispense with him Unfortunately their attitude became clear to Octavian The Senate overestimated the extent of Antony's defeat, declared his men, who were Caesar's veterans, to be outlaws and nominated Decimus Brutus, who had been designated by Caesar as Consul for 42 B C , to lead the armies of the Republic. No longer were Roman armies content to be mere pawns in the political game They saw no reason for killing each other to oblige rival Roman politicians and they took the initiative, or were reported to have done so, demanding that Octavian should become Consul Cicero, who saw the advantages of maintaining friendly relations with Octavian, worked hard for a complete understanding with the young man, but he was not listened to by the over-confident Senators

While Octavian was negotiating in Rome, Antony was in Gaul. He was there confronted by two armies of the Republic under the provincial governors, Lepidus and Plancus. Had they decided to stand by the Senate, as Cicero begged them to do, they might have eliminated Antony. Again the legionaries seem to have taken charge of the situation. Lepidus, who had been Caesar's Master of Horse while his chief had been Dictator, joined Antony and gave as his excuse to the Senate that his men fraternized with Antony's army, and would not fight. Plancus did not wait for that to happen but joined Antony as soon as he saw what had happened to Lepidus. Decimus Brutus lost his troops to the enemy in the same way and was caught and killed by Antony's orders. Although Octavian had forced the Senate to agree to his becoming Consul (19 August 43 B.C.), Antony was now more than a match for him, and he must have known it, and therefore did not want a battle. Antony could not be sure that his troops would not desert him for Caesar's heir. The way was ready for Antony and Octavian to do a deal between themselves. With Lepidus, a political lightweight, they combined early in November 43 B.C. in the Second Triumvirate and carried all before them.

Antony meanwhile had carried Caesarism to its logical conclusion. He and his fellow thugs cast aside any disguise and appeared as the gangsters they were, determined to run things their own way, to take what they wanted, to have a roaring good time and to murder out of hand anybody who stood in their path. Cicero attacked them in most outspoken terms, saying that the Senate should brand with their severest censure, for the guidance of posterity, the action of Antony who, said Cicero, was 'the first man who has openly taken armed men about with him in this city, a thing which the Kings never did nor those men who, since the Kings have been banished, have endeavoured to seize on kingly power. I can recall Cinna, I have seen Sulla, and lately Caesar. For these three men are the only ones, since the city was delivered by Lucius Brutus, who have had more power than the entire Republic. I cannot assert that no man in their retinue had weapons. This I do say, that they had not many and that they concealed them.' To be at the mercy of armed violence was new and it was hateful. 'Is it not better to perish a thousand times than to be unable to live in one's own city without a guard of armed

men?' asked Cicero, and he knew the answer 'Believe me, there is no protection in that, a man must be defended by the affection and good will of his fellow citizens, not by arms'

Cicero saw Antony for the unscrupulous adventurer he was and, with tremendous force and courage, denounced him (between September 44 B C and April 43 B C) before the Senate and the people in speeches of such eloquence that they recalled the classic invectives of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, and have always been known as Cicero's *Philippic Orations* in consequence

The Second Triumvirate

Violent in his scorn and contempt for Antony, an irascible army commander who was using Caesar's inheritance to gratify his own base desires and worthless way of life, Cicero unfortunately misjudged the extent to which he could rely upon Caesar's great-nephew and heir to take the same line As long as young Octavian was opposed to Antony, Cicero and the Republic had a fair chance of surviving. It is improbable that Octavian would have remained long in partnership with Caesar's murderers But the Senators played a most unskilful game Such was their ineptitude that Octavian was driven to conclude that he might better secure his own position by becoming the ally instead of the opponent of Antony When that happened, on 27 November 43 B C., Antony's enemies in Italy were without support and there was no hope for the Senators, including the Ciceros, save in flight Their names were on the first proscription lists sent post-haste to Rome Quintus and his son, now completely united with Cicero against Antony, were the first to be slain They had gone to Rome to get money for their journey to Greece where remnants of Caesar's assassins still had some forces They were caught and killed Antony sent a squad to look for his arch-enemy Octavian, to his eternal shame, made no effort to spare the old man whom he had so recently consulted and flattered Cicero had been on board the ship which might have taken him to a temporary refuge but bad winter weather and sea-sickness forced him ashore Before he could regain the vessel the litter in which his slaves were carrying him back to the shore was intercepted and the great orator and spokesman of the liberties of the Roman

people was silenced by one stroke of a centurion's sword (7 December 43 B C) His head and hands were cut off and sent back to Rome for Antony and his wife While they gloated over the bloody spectacle, many an honest man who had heard Cicero describing the fate which awaited Rome if Antony was victorious must have shuddered as he recalled those words and realized, now that it was too late, that Cicero had spoken truly and their ancient liberties were no more

The greatest disaster ever to befall the Romans in all their long history mounted to its climax amid bloodshed and degradation. Three hundred Senators and 2,000 *equites*, doomed by Antony's proscription lists, were slaughtered by his thugs Life in Rome was shattered So great a catastrophe defies measurement It certainly cannot be reckoned in money although the formidable economic losses reveal something of its results

Antony had soon run through the funds left by Caesar He needed more After he was joined by Caesar's heir, Octavian, and by Lepidus in a second 'Triumvirate' they stole the property of the men they had proscribed and of 400 rich women In addition they demanded a forced loan of one year's income and a capital levy of two per cent on all fortunes greater than 400,000 sesterces. By these means they gained a flying start Caesar's assassins were less successful

The Senate also tried to raise a capital levy of four per cent and a curious and surely very clumsy tax of 2½ sesterces on every tile on the roofs of the houses within its jurisdiction So for the first time for 120 years the citizens of Rome were again made to pay taxes, with the difference that it was to finance a civil war, not a foreign war

Although the Republican cause had collapsed in Italy, hopes were brighter in the East Cassius, by prompt action, had secured Syria, where he collected twelve legions Marcus Brutus, 'the noblest Roman of them all', had gone to Athens, where he was joined by young students such as Cicero's son, and Quintus Horatius Flaccus, then beginning to store an experience of life which in mellower years he was to distil in verses that have never lost their charm At the end of 43 B C Brutus and Cassius joined forces and began to raise the large sums needed to maintain their troops They increased normal revenues by forced loans Rhodes made difficulties about paying It was sacked without mercy

and the plunder came to about 19 million sesterces Such an example was convincing, and altogether they collected about 400 million sesterces By the autumn of 42 B C Antony and Octavian had transported an army to Macedonia, where they met almost equal numbers of the Republican forces at Philippi, not far from the point where the *via Egnatia* reached the sea Antony's dash and energy won the first encounter, whereupon Cassius committed suicide About a month later, Brutus led his men against Antony and Octavian but was defeated He also committed suicide The second battle of Philippi on 23 October 42 B C and the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius finally crushed and ruined the Republic

Chapter Fourteen

THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN CICERO'S DAY

IT is not difficult to picture a Roman house, its furniture and household utensils, the clothes and shoes the Romans wore, the carriages, travelling-chairs, ships and conveyances in which they rode, their pens and ink-pots, the rolls of parchment which formed their books, and many more such objects of antiquarian interest, sufficient has been discovered in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum to enable us to get a fair idea of these merely external things in the Roman scene They are interesting, but their interest is limited and can soon be exhausted, as many a weary musuem visitor has discovered

What we would really like to know about social life in Rome must include a great deal more. We want to be able to imagine the Roman busy at his farm, in politics, trade, or industry, so that we may fill more of the bare framework of previous chapters with living human beings. To achieve so huge a task is next to impossible Few possess this degree of penetrating insight into our own society It is painfully evident in the troubled and tangled lives around us how rarely people are able to transcend their personal experience and to grasp in imagination the life of a person of different sex, age, class or group in society, whether it be that of housewife, shop assistant, miner, cotton-spinner, bank clerk, diplomat, Member of Parliament, agricultural labourer, Negro bootblack, elevator boy or railway servant or any other of the thousands of different walks of life in a modern society

When we fail to understand each other in this modern machine age, how much more difficult it is to see the Roman world through Roman eyes! Nevertheless, resources are not entirely lacking Enough remains from the largely vanished literature of Rome to give a general picture of the main features of the busy life that went on there Indeed, some of the Roman classics seem to reveal a living society startlingly real and by no means utterly foreign in spirit to our own. There are sufficient letters, speeches and other works of Cicero himself and of other Romans

to prove that these impressions of vivid reality are by no means an illusion On closer examination, however, some wide gaps in our knowledge begin to become evident The ways of life of the great mass of Romans and Italians are inadequately known

Cato the Censor and the Parting of the Ways

Imperfect as our real, deep knowledge is and in all probability must remain, there is one critical period in Roman history to which we can point with some certainty as a very definite turning point Around the time of the Second Punic War a momentous change began which made Rome of the time of Cicero and Caesar a very different place from the Rome of the heroic age It was a change that nothing could arrest Before it began the Romans found all their interest in cultivating their farms in their age-old customary way, in defending their city, in managing its politics and observing their religious practices hallowed by immemorial tradition Within a hundred years this way of life counted for little in Rome Instead there was a mad race for luxury and enjoyment Religion lost any vital hold on life Romans were content to let a professional army, recruited naturally from the poorest classes, replace the army in which every citizen had been proud to serve Politics had become a matter of personal ambition rather than of devotion to public welfare The old race of Roman citizens proper was not maintained Their numbers began in fact to decline after the Second Punic War and when they again began to increase their growth was slow Small families of two to three children were the rule Rome and Italy were swarming with slaves and the descendants of slaves

No record of their numbers has been preserved, but it has been estimated that as early as 170 B C. free Romans were already outnumbered by residents of alien races They multiplied in the land like the rabbits of Australia and they devoured the patrimony of the free citizen Because rich men found it easier to turn the small plots of the free citizens into large cattle ranches, their slaves drove the small farmer off the land Skilled slaves from Greece and the East took the bread out of the mouths of the free artisans and craftsmen Brawny slaves from Gaul and Spain robbed free Italians of the chance of developing their muscles and their self-respect in hard manual work Rome became an amalgam of

mixed races, ragtag and bobtail, and their ways were not the traditional ways of Rome. Enslavement had made such a drastic break in the lives of these miserable folk that they could preserve no traditions of their own upon which to guide their lives. A seething mass of crushed, humiliated and certainly bewildered folk were faced with the tremendous task of somehow finding their own bearings and of rebuilding a sane habit of life after the meaningless tragedy of slavery in a foreign land had overwhelmed them. In this heartbreaking work they had few if any helpers, little or no consolation or guide. Naturally they stumbled and floundered, ready to follow anyone offering them any material inducement or attraction to improve their miserable lot. Their situation demands more than a momentary thought, for in it lay the possibility of a mighty change. When men and women are abjectly wretched, nothing but hope can sustain their lives. To hope is to have faith. Upon this fertile soil, not very long after Cicero and his contemporaries had passed away, the new Christian doctrine of humility, sympathy, love and belief in a world to come was to awaken responses in Roman hearts that were to create a new order of society. In glaring contrast to the lot of the slaves and the poor in Rome was the rapidly growing wealth, luxury and ostentation of the wealthy and governing classes, many of whom were giving themselves up to the frank enjoyment of their unprecedented abundance of material possessions. For the first time in Roman history, after the Second Punic War, coined money was getting into general and rapid circulation. This new instrument, facilitating the exchange of goods and serving as a store of wealth and value, enormously stimulated the economic activity of the Roman people. Men could now become rich and influential although they did not possess land, flocks and herds. These new possibilities still further widened the unmistakable divergence of interests between the rich and poor which boded ill for the Republic.

Could these troubles have been foreseen and if so would it have been possible to prevent them? A pointless question, judged by the sequel. Warning voices were, however, to be heard almost as soon as the change was beginning. One was that of the Greek hostage and historian Polybius who could not help noticing the beginnings of weaknesses which had been the fatal symptoms of decline in his own land. 'Some Romans', he said, 'were all out

for women, others for unnatural vice and many for shows and drink and all the extravagance which shows and drink occasion. These were all vices for which the Greeks had a weakness and the Romans had immediately caught this contagion from them during the third Macedonian War.'

A Roman voice vainly calling upon his countrymen to halt was that of Cato the Censor. His long life spanned this momentous epoch during which Roman ways underwent a radical change. As a boy before the Second Punic War he had been brought up in the strict old way. Before he died as an old man, in the days of Cicero's grandfather, his countrymen had already turned their faces towards the full realization of their new opportunities, and Cato himself seems to have tried to combine something of the grasping greed of the new times with the stricter morality of former days. The picture of Cato that has come down to us may not be completely trustworthy but it reveals an upright, harsh, puritanical and bigoted character completely foreign to the more easy-going, cultivated, urbane and civilized friends of Cicero. As a young man, Cato was content to work hard in the fields with his slaves and to live upon rough country fare, boiling his own dish of vegetables while his young wife baked the bread. The hard life he led on the land he was equally content to live on the field of battle where his tough constitution carried him into the thickest of many a battle, in Italy against Hannibal, and later in Greece against Antiochus.

The wars at length were over and new wealth with new ideas of luxury, refinement and culture began to reach Rome. Cato stubbornly opposed the new ways of life to which they led. Tough on the field of battle, he was equally tough in the Forum of Rome. He secured many verdicts against his political opponents, for he was no mean orator. He successfully defended himself on over forty occasions. He did not spare the great Scipio Africanus who retired from Rome in disgust after being arraigned by Cato, to whom his liking for Greek civilization ('that race of babblers', snorted Cato) was anathema. Cato's oratory was much admired. Except for one or two scraps it has all been lost. For one piece of advice he certainly deserves to be for ever remembered. 'Stick to the point and the words will come' (*rem tene, verba sequentur*).

He rose to be Consul in 195 B.C. and achieved the high honour of becoming Censor in 184 B.C. He was then fifty years old. By

this time Rome was tasting the sweets of triumph and of peace Wealth and refinement were growing at a pace which greatly alarmed Cato To interfere with private life, and to repress what were considered to be dangerous departures from the time-honoured customs of Rome, had always been the special province of the Censor As the old scheme of social values died and the new age of luxury dawned, such matters were no longer taken very seriously, except by Cato, who had already been active enough in a private capacity to merit the title of Censor before he sought election to that high office His enemies tried to kill his chances by telling the voters that they would be making a heavy rod for their own backs if they chose Cato But choose him they did, and he soon got to work. He clapped a heavy tax on luxuries, and from his own manner of life it can be imagined that his definition of a luxury was nothing if not comprehensive There was a great outburst of luxury, especially after the war with Macedon Growing interest in material well-being was beginning to have disruptive effects Cato thought it an outrage for Romans to spend more for handsome boy slaves than they were prepared to invest in landed estate, and to give more money for a single jar of caviare than they would for livestock But he did not stop at that Fine clothes, carriages, jewellery and other adornments beloved by women, silver utensils and any such possession valued above the low amount of 1,500 *denarii* or 6,000 sesterces were all on his list of luxuries to be heavily taxed To a materialistic age such a rule seems at best folly, at worst the sadism of a thwarted personality But Cato seems sincerely to have felt that the old ways were best and that it was up to him to see that they were honoured

The Censor had power to appoint and dismiss Senators Cato had his own ideas upon behaviour not permitted to a Senator, among which apparently was the crime of kissing your wife in the daytime The story goes that a Senator, Manilius, committed this offence, aggravated by the circumstance that his daughter witnessed the deed Cato expelled him from the Senate Again, if Cato can be given the credit due to high principles, he struck a blow against popular laxity and against behaviour formerly thought inconsistent with the gravity, poise, seriousness and dignity of conspicuous public characters Nevertheless it is not easy to credit Cato with such high-mindedness Let us remember

however, that to so human a person as Dorothy Osborne in late seventeenth-century England, a husband kissing his wife in public seemed 'as ill a sight as one would wish to see'

The public treasury benefited from Cato's strict regard for the external proprieties The lash with which he smote the luxurious did not spare fraudulent contractors or the financiers who were normally allowed to make a good thing out of collecting taxes for the State

His voice was not the last, but it was certainly the most vigorous to be raised by any of the foremost officers of State against the tide of change which was surging against the foundations of Rome, but the social forces at work were far too strong for a lone Cato. He was one of the last of the old Republican Censors, and none who succeeded him in the office seems to have been able, supposing they had been willing, to try to follow his example Lip-service continued to be paid to the ideals he championed Laws were passed to check bribery, to restrain private luxury, to control provincial governors, to drive out Greek philosophers, and to favour or restrain different classes of society By Cicero's time efforts on these lines by a would-be reforming Censor were merely funny

It might be thought that such a man as Cato would have scorned to seek a livelihood otherwise than on the traditional Roman farm He had a farm to be sure, and if anyone could have made farming pay, Cato should have been able to do so In his later years he fell in with the prevailing tide and became a money-maker to the extent that candour compelled him to recommend anyone in need of a good income not to rely upon farming, for he tapped many other sources of gain himself He bought and sold estates, bought slaves whom he trained and sold at a profit, invested in fullers' establishments (the Roman equivalent of a laundry and dye-works) and, despite the prohibition, secretly had shares in overseas trading enterprises What he thought truly wonderful and godlike was for a man to be able to double his inheritance before he died Yet despite such concessions to the new currents sweeping away the world of his boyhood he was not completely engulfed His measure of success was not merely wealth, nor the number of statues erected to him He would rather have people asking why there was no statue to Cato, than for them to have opportunities to see many such Cato fought hard

all his life and after his death left treatises on military discipline, Roman history, farming and other subjects to admonish and instruct his successors Severely practical manuals, to judge by the sole specimen which has survived (his handbook on farming which has already been quoted above), they made no pretence of literary grace for which, indeed, Cato had scant regard

Cato seems a survival into Rome's age of prosperity of a typical product of the earlier period of narrow resources At the best his example represented a resolute determination to subordinate material conditions to an ideal way of living But it no longer had a vital message for the new age If Cato was unwilling to face change or to conceive standards of value other than those traditionally given high regard in the past, the intensity of his feeling burned with a purer flame by being concentrated upon limited purposes, redeeming his whole character because they centred around love of country, of home, and of family A man inapt to awaken respect, still less affection, in a later and very different age, but one at least deserving high regard as a product of his own age, as a Roman who sought to acquit himself according to the right as he had learned it from his father and as he was determined to pass it on to his son

Typical of this man must have been his undying distrust and hatred of the beaten Carthaginians He had not lived through the Second Punic War without forming the fixed determination that there should never be another As Carthage revived and her trading voyages again began to bring her some measure of prosperity, Cato's disquiet grew He openly advocated the complete obliteration of the power which he had seen so nearly destroy Rome He never made a speech in the Senate without concluding with the words 'Carthage must be destroyed' Cato's slogan, long ridiculed in Rome, probably as the ravings of a bloodthirsty old dotard, eventually triumphed Three years after Cato's death Carthage was destroyed (146 B C) as completely as the Nazis in our own day have wiped out Lidice and many other innocent settlements in Europe Its inhabitants were massacred, its site was ploughed over by the victorious Romans after a desperate resistance by the wretched Carthaginians who were offered what amounted to death by slow starvation or by the sword

Cato's fears were probably groundless It is difficult to believe

that Rome had any real reason to fear the re-establishment of the military power of Carthage. An attempt has been made to explain Rome's action as masking a determination to kill Carthaginian competition with the rising olive-oil and wine industry in Italy in which Cato and his like were investing, but purely economic worries would not have excited the fierce animosity which the Romans exhibited. A protective tariff would have been a simpler weapon than war, but it was never the policy of the Roman Republic to devise such aids for its business men.

Although he had no permanent successes, Cato's spirit lived on to influence the lives of many Romans. He became a tradition for Rome and he remains a tradition in European civilization. He may be recognized in many a pillar of Victorian society in England, and still more in Scotland.

There were men alive when Cicero was a boy who had seen Cato in the streets of Rome and heard him in the Forum. His belief in nostrums and his cures for ill health had been fatal to his family, but his constitution was proof against his remedies as well as against diseases until his eighty-sixth year when he died in 149 B.C. Cicero's grandfather may well have seen him and more often listened to the stories he inspired. Cicero himself, who had a nostalgic longing for the ordered security and unity of the heroic age of the Republic, makes Cato the principal speaker in his dialogue study *On Old Age*. In Cicero's idealized picture the old man, mellowed by age and experience after his active life in what he thought the service of his country, is by no means the unsympathetic figure which the few remaining anecdotes about his earlier years must have made him seem to his younger contemporaries.

Breakdown of the Old Order

Less than a hundred years after the death of Cato, Cicero was going about lamenting the death of that Republic of which Cato had been a typical product and one of the chief ornaments. Would not Cato, had he survived, have said 'I told you so'? He was dead but his great-grandson was alive, bearing his name and doing his best to copy the strange old man, already old-fashioned a hundred years before him. But to provide a mirror of such antique pattern did not help the vision of his contemporaries. The unswerving

virtues of the younger Cato were a source of confusion rather than of light.

Much obviously must have gone wrong. Some obvious sources of weakness have already been thrown up by the brief review in the preceding pages of the involved and clumsy system of government, of the social cleavage between rich and poor, of the arrogance of the office-holding nobility, of the rigid insistence of money-lenders upon their bond, of the fearsome growth of slavery and of the greed with which opportunities to make away with public land were seized by the well-to-do.

There is, as a wise Scot once said, 'a great deal of ruin in a nation'. Knowing that the ultimate fate of the Roman Republic was ruin, it is tempting, when giving some account of its history, to throw all the emphasis upon facts which seem related, or to point directly, to the final catastrophe. But for the hundreds whose personal tragedies loom so grimly in the histories of war, slaughter, debt, slavery, and disaster, there were thousands, in town and country, contriving somehow to make do, on however poor a level. From provincial families as yet little affected by the habits of Rome, clever country boys came to seek their fortunes in Rome, and they did not all succumb to the temptations of the city. Cicero was one of them. Without new recruits from the unspoiled healthy country homes, the decay of Rome might well have been more rapid and very much more difficult to heal. Millions living in the Italian peninsula under Roman rule had their land to till, their farm animals to care for, their round of religious ceremonies to observe and their periodical visits to nearby markets. All that humdrum daily life went on.

But it did not go on with the serene regularity that had once been the rule. Conservative and peaceful as the Italian farmers no doubt wished to be, they could not escape the consequences of the storms which raged at Rome. The sickness from which Roman society was suffering spread throughout the peninsula. When civil war broke out, as it did in Cicero's lifetime, it was accompanied by a frightening amount of lawlessness. Slave insurrections made many an isolated farmstead as unsafe as it had been when Hannibal was ravaging Italy. Bandits infesting the land would attack any stray traveller they came across and, after robbing him, were as likely as not to sell him to a slave-owner to end his days chained in a slave gang. Hence no doubt

the stress laid by writers such as Cicero on the importance of devoting money given in charity not merely to relieving the poor but also to ransoming prisoners.

The tragedy gradually worked up to a climax in the period roughly represented by the lives of Cicero's father and Cicero himself. The extent of the disasters which had overtaken the Romans can best be realized from the fact that civil wars did not occur in Rome until the days of Marius and Sulla, and of Caesar, Antony, Pompey and Octavius. All manner of explanations of the reason for the unrest have been suggested. If they had been merely political it should not have proved impossible to so practical-minded, commonsense a race as the Romans to have devised a political remedy. If economic troubles alone had been involved, the Roman spirit of compromise might have satisfied the worst discontents as it had succeeded in doing before, unless of course it is argued that greed, ambition, envy and the fears which they occasioned had reached such a pitch that they could no longer be controlled. That would merely be to charge the Romans with a specially large extra dose of original sin without offering any reason why it should suddenly have developed.

Should not a comprehensive explanation be sought in the general temper of Roman social behaviour and the changed way in which the Romans regarded life in society? Such an explanation of the new state of affairs points to the changed Roman outlook on life after they had cast themselves adrift from their old moorings and had forgotten or despised their simple ancestral mode of life and its ancient set of values, to embark instead upon new and uncharted seas.

The various grades of society with which Cicero was familiar in Rome differed from those of the early Republic and none had changed more in outlook and interests than the leaders of Roman society. They may therefore be looked at more closely, for although they were relatively few in numbers, it was upon them that the fate of Rome depended. Their mode of life, their education, their intellectual interests and their scientific achievements may all throw some light upon the inner nature of the social life of Rome. (Plates 21–26.)

Chapter Fifteen

THE ROMAN ARISTOCRACY

Cicero and the Party of 'the Best People'

CICERO and his noblemen friends lived in a lordly style. Their houses were large and spacious. Their household staff was so numerous that they could not have recognized them all or known their names. Certainly they never had to bother themselves with the detail of domestic worries. There were slaves to do everything from simple menial jobs such as opening the door up to confidential secretarial work and the general management of the whole complicated household under the direct orders of the master and his wife.

The head of the house, the father of the household, *paterfamilias*, was, in theory at least, still the supreme dictator of the entire family organization. Immemorial custom of the Romans had made him the sole judge of right and wrong within the walls of his own property. He could do what he liked with his own. His decision was final. He could torture or kill his slaves, he could decide whether any infant newly born to him should be reared or exposed and left to perish. He could pass sentence of death on his wife, his sons and daughters. In practice matters had progressed very much since the primitive days in which the early Roman fathers were supposed not merely to have possessed, but actually to have exercised such powers. Legally they had them still and the sadists and criminals who exist in every society were able freely to indulge themselves with no more serious results than the disapproval of their neighbours, about whom they were most unlikely to concern themselves very deeply.

The general atmosphere of family life in Cicero's day was as far removed from such primitive brutalities as the England of George III was from the feudal tyrannies of the Norman Barons. Roman wives and mothers in particular had attained a degree of equality and independence which left them with little fear of their domineering men-folk. The meek and henpecked Roman husband was already a stock comedy figure in the great days of the Second Punic War, and that was about the time when Cato

the Censor invented, or repeated, the hoary saying that 'we rule the world but our women-folk rule us' It is true that Romans were able to divorce their wives with little formality, provided that they repaid their dowry, which might often be inconvenient because Romans liked marrying wealthy women But wives seem to have been able to divorce their husbands almost as easily

By Cicero's time the ancient religious aspect of the marriage ceremony seems to have lost its meaning for sophisticated Romans No longer was it felt to be so tremendous a thing for a woman to leave the protecting household spirits of her father's house and to come under the sway of those of another abode So the elaborate ritual and emotional ceremonies of earlier marriage festivals had given way to much more matter-of-fact unions, just as the Registry Office has replaced the altar for many people in our own time All that was necessary was for the man to ask the woman before witnesses whether she wished to become *mater-familias* She answered 'yes' and in turn asked the man if he wished to become *pater familias*, to which he also answered 'yes', whereupon they would be considered to be legally married Yet the old ceremonies probably survived in country districts and among conservative households That the poetry and the religion of marriage was by no means extinct in Cicero's day is evident for instance from a vivid marriage song of his young contemporary Catullus, the freshest and most vigorous lyric poet of all surviving Roman literature

In the active and ambitious social and political circles in which Cicero moved, women played an important even if a secondary role This was new in the history of Western civilization They had long ruled the domestic scene, but in the last century of the Republic they had a wider influence over the arts and the business of life, politics included The traditional view of woman was still that of a discreet and mostly silent helpmate in the home, busy with her slave girls, winding, spinning, and weaving the wool on which the household depended for its clothing In the aristocratic society by which Rome was governed, her responsibilities were much heavier When, as often, her husband was absent in the service of the State, she had to assume control over the household and the estate Great care therefore was taken to ensure suitable matches for the sons and daughters of Rome's governing class. Girls were able to retain their own property on marriage so they

were not wholly within their husband's power By the end of the Republic they did not always take their husband's name We need not regard the beautiful and notorious Clodia, sister of P Clodius, the enemy of Cicero, as typical of an emancipated Roman woman in order to believe that they then all enjoyed a life of remarkable freedom and independence

The round of social visits began early in the day Prominent men like Cicero had to give over their morning to a host of callers, most of whom they found a great bore but few or none of whom they discouraged A thronged levee bore comforting evidence of the great man's standing and importance in the eyes of public opinion He had to be equally alert and attentive at nights, for his evenings were occupied in a succession of small, select and highly luxurious dinner parties in elegant patrician homes These events in the crowded social calendar of Rome alternated with similar functions in hardly less elegant villas in the fresher country air of Baiae, Capua, Pompeii and other fashionable resorts within fairly easy reach of the capital

The Roman day was divided into a fixed number of hours, beginning at sunrise The length of the hour subsequently varied with the seasons, being forty-four minutes in midwinter and seventy-five minutes in midsummer The Romans had no clocks or watches; sundials were a comparatively recent invention dating from the First Punic War Sociable Romans consequently could not rely upon their guests arriving at the right time for dinner, so a slave was sent out to the home of each guest at a suitable time in advance of the meal to conduct him to the feast The dinner had to be very carefully planned The couches on which the men guests reclined at the meal had to be allotted according to strict rules of precedence, and most well-to-do Romans employed a special social secretary to help them on such occasions None but an abandoned woman reclined during meals The ladies sat upright at the table Cicero was an inveterate diner-out and he was hospitable in return Social gatherings at dinner then, as now, exercised their subtle influence, shaping and moulding the curious amalgam of high society and acting as a security market or exchange on which the personal reputations of the members of society were always being reassessed and re-valued In the relatively small and highly compact social life of Cicero's Rome such parties were all the more influential because

there were no newspapers and no effective public opinion except that made by Roman society itself The leaders of that society were the *optimates*, the 'best people' descended from the great families of mixed patrician and plebeian descent They were prominently represented among the 600 Senators and their families and they could be sure of the respect if not the deference of those of the Senators, Cicero, for example, who could not boast patrician descent

The social force represented by the lesser gentry, the financiers, bankers, traders and money-making class of *equites* (or 'knights') could at times become substantial, but after the manner of their kind in all ages they accepted the domination of the political class which was at the same time the class of their social superiors The families of these upper classes may have numbered about 10,000 of Rome's entire population which, in Cicero's time, has generally been estimated at about a million, of whom perhaps over 200,000 were slaves Several hundred thousands of the remainder would be freedmen or the descendants of slaves

The senatorial aristocracy were, for Cicero, the party of 'the best people' As he grew older, he had no other social ambitions than to live and move among them and to be accepted by them as a man of distinction Politically, they were maddening Cicero had a right to be enraged with them He gave his talent and his life to their service, but won in return small response, little gratitude, and no help

Aiding the moneymakers, most of whom were of the equestrian order, was not a very rewarding occupation The trouble about them was that in their devotion to the all-absorbing task of filling their money-bags they had no time for the niceties of political principle Cicero had to be prepared for some pretty drastic compromises if he wanted their support Some of his friends were not so accommodating, particularly Cato, great-grandson of old Cato the Censor and Caesar's stern critic This is how Cicero reacted to Cato's principles in the heat of a political crisis 'As for our friend Cato, you do not love him more than I do but after all, with the very best intentions and the most absolute honesty, he sometimes does harm to the Republic. He speaks and votes as though he were in the Republic of Plato, not among the scum of Romulus' (by which Cicero meant his contemporaries)

In a more deliberate and reflective mood Cicero took much the

same line In his long letter of advice to his brother who, in March 61 B C, had become propraetor of Asia, he faced up again to the problem of the greed and lack of morality of the business men[1] Urging his brother 'to take care of the interests of all, to remedy men's misfortunes, to provide for their safety, to resolve that you will be both called and believed to be the "father of Asia"', he candidly admitted 'However, to such a resolution and deliberate policy on your part the great obstacle is the business men [*publicani*]' The dilemma with which Cicero found himself faced was that although the political support of the business men was essential to his programme of 'harmony between the social classes' it was forthcoming only at the price of making no resistance to their greedy demands

'If we oppose them,' he told his brother, 'we shall alienate from ourselves and from the Republic an order which has done us excellent service If on the other hand we comply with them in every case, we shall allow the complete ruin of those whose interests, to say nothing of their preservation, we are bound to consult' That is to say, the business men would not support anyone who tried to stop them fleecing the subject races in the provinces Cicero had not forgotten Verres He had seen enough of the money-lenders' and tax-gatherers' behaviour in his province of Cilicia and at home, to know what he was talking about 'After hearing the grievances of citizens of Italy, I can comprehend what happens to allies in distant lands' Well might he ruefully conclude that 'to conduct oneself in this matter in such a way as to satisfy the business men, especially when contracts have been taken at a loss, and yet to preserve the allies from ruin, seems to demand a virtue with something divine in it'

The godlike ruler of Cicero's dreams did not emerge during his lifetime and where Cicero failed, no other Roman succeeded in creating wise, public-spirited citizens from among the self-seeking business classes How far Romans had gone in two generations! When, in the days of Cicero's grandfather, old Cato had been asked 'How about money-lending?' as a way of making a living, his blunt answer had been 'How about murder?'

The Profits of Empire

The balance sheet of Rome's gains when the Republic became an imperial world power cannot be drawn in any detail It is however

possible to make a rough guess at the probable order of magnitude of the main items in the revenue of the self-supporting Republic in the heroic days of the Second Punic War and of the later Republic of Cicero's time.

The contrast is striking, as the following estimates by Professor Tenney Frank reveal

ESTIMATED TOTAL EXPENSES AND REVENUE OF ROME IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

in millions of sesterces 217 B C to 201 B C

EXPENDITURE		REVENUE	
Army pay	720	Property tax on citizens (*tributum*)	260
Food for allied troops	144	Loans, contributions, exceptional taxes	468
Land transport	60	Port dues, rentals, etc	40
Arms and equipment	80	Tithes on public land	96
Navy and sea transport	140	Booty	260
		Sacred treasury	20
Total, 17 years' expenditure	1,144 millions	Total, 17 years' revenue	1,144 millions

The average annual amount was a mere 67⅓ million sesterces or about 17 million *denarii* a year for the seventeen years of war

During the Punic War, as these figures show, the citizens of Rome paid their way despite the desperate crisis in which they were so nearly engulfed Little more than one-fifth of the State revenue came from foreign sources and that was an exceptional result of war

By Cicero's day, on the other hand, the Romans had long been accustomed to having most of their bills paid for them by dependent territories Sources of revenue inside Italy did not provide more than about one-fifth of all the income needed by the Republic, and this small amount was not taxation so much as rent for the use of land and property which would have been paid in any case, whether the Republic or a private citizen had been the owner The Republic possessed other income-earning assets such as public forests, public aqueducts, a salt monopoly, public fisheries, iron, copper, silver, gold and other metal mines Such

State and industrial trading enterprises were not run by public officials, but were handed over to any company who would make the highest bid for the right to operate them As with so many of its public responsibilities, the State preferred to farm out administrative tasks rather than to have them carried out by its own officials The growth of business partnerships on the lines of joint-stock companies was no doubt stimulated by these opportunities for profit-making, and their activities spread into many branches of economic life unconnected with public administration, such as foreign trade and house-building

During Cicero's active life, the revenue of the Republic was more than doubled as a result of the organization of the tribute-paying dependencies which then made up the Roman Empire. Contrast the following estimate with that given above of the revenue of the Republic in the heroic age of the Second Punic War.

ESTIMATED ANNUAL REVENUE OF ROME IN THE AGE OF CICERO (ABOUT 63 B C)

Sicily	16 million sesterces
Sardinia and Corsica	6 million sesterces
Macedonia	8 million sesterces
Asia and Islands	60 million sesterces
Spain	34 million sesterces
Gallia Narbonensis (the Provence and Cévennes district of modern France)	14 million sesterces
Africa and Cyrene	24 million sesterces
All other rates, rents and taxes	40 million sesterces
Estimated total average annual revenue:	202 million sesterces

Such revenue was spent almost entirely upon the army, navy and military equipment, food and stores Public works and the corn subsidy together with administration costs were the main items in the civil as opposed to the military expenditure Civil administration was not expensive The aim had always been to run the Republic and to govern Rome on the cheap The chief magistrates were paid no salaries It is true that each was provided at the public expense with a small office staff and that those who, like the Aediles, had practical work to supervise, probably had a labour force of public slaves to help in the repair of water

and sewerage systems. But this aid was negligible in comparison with the huge expense of even more lavish public games and spectacles and other forms of ostentation which the great officials had to provide in return or as a bribe for the honour of being elected. The need to find money to pay for these extravagances powerfully stimulated the ruling classes to look for funds from the provinces now at their mercy.

These sketchy estimates of the public finances of the Republic support the view that war must be ranked with agriculture as a major industry of the Roman people and they show that, in the end, war turned out to be a highly profitable enterprise. To provide the sinews of war had always been the main reason why the Romans had to pay taxes.

The chief war tax was the ancient *tributum*, a capital levy traditionally imposed at the rate of one-thousandth part of the property of every citizen. In times of special need it was increased two or three times. The strain of the Second Punic War, for example, led to it being doubled in 215 B.C. and many heavier sacrifices were demanded before the war was over. When the final victory had been won the Republic repaid from the Carthaginian indemnity some of these exactions. For the first thirty years of the second century B.C., the *tributum* continued to be levied. In 184 B.C. Cato who was then Censor demanded a triple levy.

As long as the old traditions of Rome were still honoured, wars were not declared for the sake of the loot they might provide. Rome had no territorial ambitions to be satisfied at the expense of her Mediterranean neighbours. But as the power of Rome grew, new relationships with foreign territories began to be formed. When Rome replaced the former rulers of territories like Sicily and Macedonia it automatically acquired the revenues which those rulers used to enjoy. Foreign tribute was then received which went to enrich the Treasury of the Republic. The year 167 B.C. was memorable for Roman citizens, for then it was decided that the wealth coming from Macedonia by way of tribute was sufficient to make it no longer necessary to demand payment of the *tributum* by the Romans living in Italy.

By Cicero's time there was scarcely a Roman living who remembered paying the tax which had financed the growth of the Republic. Taxation in Cicero's eyes was a great evil. 'Care should be taken', he said, 'lest, as was often the case among our

ancestors, on account of the poverty of the Treasury and the continuity of wars, it may be necessary to impose taxation.' Like Mr Gladstone, he evidently believed that money should 'fructify in the pockets of the people.' His countrymen had long been of the same mind. And no wonder. In an age when money was by no means so widely spread throughout the community as it is today, it was no light burden suddenly to be called upon to find ready cash equivalent to a one- or two-thousandth part of all one's possessions. On such occasions money-lenders with ready cash were able to reap a rich harvest. Then, as in later ages, they were a race of men singularly immune from tenderness and charitable emotions towards their victims and their resolute insistence upon at least twelve per cent interest on their loans had every guarantee of State support should it be needed, as indeed it often was. Romans could be harder to each other than to a vanquished enemy.

During the first hundred years of the Republic the citizen soldiers had to serve in the army at their own expense. They were first paid after 406 B.C., but the cost of their food and equipment was deducted from their pay. Army needs accounted for by far the largest expenditure of the State and it was a rising cost because the expense of maintaining the legion of 4,000 to 4,200 men grew as the Republic developed.

Between 200 B.C. and 150 B.C., it has been estimated that one legion would have cost about 2,400,000 sesterces a year. It rose to about 3,200,000 sesterces between 150 B.C. and 90 B.C., when the rank and file were paid 480 sesterces a year, centurions 960 sesterces and cavalry 1,440 sesterces. After that, in Cicero's lifetime, it grew to 4,000,000 sesterces a year.

The increased cost of the army during the break-up of the Republican constitution was not so much an index of the increased cost of living or of the growing wealth of Rome as of the need to bribe the legionaries in order to be assured of their loyalty and devotion. The official army rates of pay then became less important than the shares of booty divided by a victorious general among his troops. A fair share of booty was one of the oldest traditional rights of the Roman soldier, but never in the history of the Republic did the distribution of booty carry with it political influence on so large a scale as it did in the time of Cicero.

Opportunities of collecting loot had existed at earlier times,

and the Romans had not neglected them But neither had they exploited them as they might have done and as they later did on a vast and comprehensive scale When in 196 B C Flamininus announced the freedom of Greece 'without garrison or tribute', the Greeks were not merely astounded but, said Polybius, who was a boy of about eight years when the words were spoken and who must have often discussed them with his elders if he had not heard them himself, they were filled with admiration that 'the Romans and their leader Flamininus should have deliberately incurred unlimited expense and danger for the sole purpose of freeing Greece', a generous tribute of gratitude that an Englishman of the twentieth century may perhaps be pardoned for associating with the activities of his own countrymen, from the days of Lord Byron to those of Sir Winston Churchill, who have sought with some success to be not less generous to Greece than were Flamininus and the Senate of Rome

The wars with Antiochus from 192 B C to 189 B C proved more lucrative and were traditionally regarded as a powerful stimulus to luxury and sophisticated ways of life in Rome, so great was the loot brought back by the victorious legions

Despite great diplomatic activity, the opportunities of collecting booty on a large scale were infrequent during the second half of the second century B C because there were no large-scale operations by the Roman army against countries possessing much wealth But already by the middle of the second century Roman power was being used for self-advancement by younger members of the Roman governing class Their fathers and forefathers had become famous at a high cost in personal endeavour against the enemies of the Republic, but they had not become rich Scipio, Paulus, Cato and the father of the Gracchi left no great fortunes and it was with difficulty that their daughters were provided with dowries Now however the new generation wanted the fame of successful generalship in the field and they did not object to becoming rich at the same time The search for cheap triumphs, for the honourable title of victor and for the opportunity of indulging a less honourable lust for plunder in Spain and across the Adriatic began to give a sinister twist to the foreign policy of the Republic During the first century B C these questionable practices took a turn for the worse The hatred the Romans inspired among their subject peoples was revealed in the terrible

massacre that took place in 88 B C in Asia Minor and in the Greek islands when some 80,000 Latin-speaking southern Italian traders and agents of the greedy and hated Roman business men were slaughtered in one day at the orders, willingly enough obeyed, of Mithridates, King of Pontus

It was the first step in his grand scheme to organize the northern territories of Asia Minor against Rome, and he launched it when Rome was exhausting her forces in the civil war against Italians How the command of the army Rome was forced to send against him was entrusted to Sulla, and how Sulla became in consequence the Dictator of Rome, has already been recounted (p 215) It remains to record that when Sulla returned to Rome his baggage trains were heavy with loot from the Greek temples, from the sale of captives and from wholesale robbery thinly disguised as an indemnity to the amount of 480 million sesterces inflicted upon the unfortunate inhabitants of the Near East, caught between the devil Mithridates and the avenging Romans from the deep sea

Like an Eastern king rather than a Consul of Rome, Sulla used this vast wealth as he pleased, without giving the customary account of his receipts and expenses There was therefore no settled, orderly public accounting for any length of time after 90 B C and it is impossible to guess what revenues were raised and how much the State Treasury actually received Until his retirement in 79 B C and death in the following year, Sulla was all-powerful and immensely rich His power and his wealth were something entirely new in the history of the Republic and they had been won for him by his army No ambitious man could fail to grasp the lesson of this tremendous fact, and the remembrance of it survived to entice others still further along the same road 'How often', said Cicero, 'have I heard Pompey say "Sulla could do it, shall I not be able to do it?" ' There was a new instrument now to help along such ambitions The army was no longer all the active men of Rome mobilized to defend their farms and their city as in the brave days of old The new model army created by Marius was largely composed of professional soldiers recruited for long-term service, drilled and disciplined but looking for their rewards to what their army service would bring them, and not to a return, as speedy as possible, to the homes and the farms which few of them now possessed The army became a new power in the State

distinct from the citizen body with which it had from time immemorial been identified

The campaign which Sulla had begun in the East against king Mithridates was taken up once more by Lucullus Between 74 B C and 66 B C, after some long and hard campaigning, Lucullus was making a thorough job of his command He sent hordes of Eastern slaves to Rome and his own gains were large. He distributed 4 million sesterces among his men, paid over 10 million sesterces into the Treasury and became one of the richest men in Rome But he fought too long He won battles without winning the war and exhausted his army in the process. Not merely did he not put enough opportunities for enrichment in the way of the business men of Rome but he drastically scaled down some of their more outrageous claims for high interest on outstanding loans, so he lost his command His name has since remained a by-word for lavish and luxurious living. After a good deal of hesitation the Senate gave his command, with Cicero's strong support, to Pompey (66 B C)

Pompey's supporters were numerous among the financial and business classes, who were exasperated by their continued losses through piracy on the seas, by the time it was taking to quieten the East and by the way Lucullus protected their helpless creditors Pompey was therefore given both tasks of settling scores with the pirates and of finishing the war against Mithridates In the five years between 67 B C and 62 B C he succeeded in both commands and returned to Rome with rewards more substantial than glory So much loot was collected from Asia Minor and especially from Syria, where marauding Roman armies had not before penetrated, that the share-out was impressive

Pompey had eight legions, each of which had a normal strength of 4,000 men, sixty centurions, and six Tribunes The share of each man came to 6,000 sesterces, more than twelve years' pay Centurions received 120,000 sesterces and Tribunes 720,000 sesterces They fully expected, although in this they were disappointed, an immediate allotment of land in Italy as well For this they had to wait (p 239) Over and above the 288 million sesterces paid to the army rank and file, he shared another 100 million with his staff officers, eighteen *legati* and two Quaestors Supposing Pompey kept 25 million for himself, each of these higher ranking officers would have had over 3 million sesterces.

Five per cent was regarded as a low rate of interest in Cicero's day, but had these officers got no more, their gratuity would have provided them with an income of 160,000 sesterces a year for life, a respectable fortune in itself when compared with the modest incomes of Rome's middle classes (p. 111).

After providing all these huge rewards for the army, Pompey was able to pay for a lavish triumph, a votive offering to Minerva of 8 million sesterces, and later to build a great theatre. He was also said to have paid 480 million sesterces into the Treasury and to have added about 140 million sesterces to the annual revenues of the Republic of 202 million sesterces before 62 B.C. That he added substantially to his own vast fortunes goes without saying. It is also evident that when he succeeded in stopping the losses Roman citizens had been sustaining through piracy, he also made a positive contribution to the national income of Rome.

It was not always necessary to start a war in order to bleed the provincials white. As the provinces increased in number, the governing classes were able to get themselves appointed in charge of them as military and civil governors for a year at a time as proconsuls. The title perpetuated the original military nature of Rome's colonizing activities outside Italy where there were allies, but no provinces, except in the Gallic north where the valley of the Po constituted the province of Cisalpine Gaul. Many if not most of these proconsular governors and their staffs looked upon their exile from Rome as having only one compensation, the opportunity to get rich quick at the expense of the provincials and to return to live in Italy in a vastly better style than when they left it.

Not so Cicero. Much against his will and inclination he was forced, as a former Consul, to take his turn in 51 B.C. as proconsul in the large province of Cilicia. With him went two legions and a mere 8 million sesterces for expenses. He devoted himself to the well-being of his province, he both preached and practised justice, did what he could to remedy the wrongs inflicted on the inhabitants by the previous Roman governor, refused to allow his wretched people to be ruined by the tax-collectors, and did his best to restrain his staff and his friends from gouging as much as they could from the natives.

He boasted that 'no expense has been imposed upon them

during my government, and when I say no expense I do not speak hyperbolically, I mean *none*, not a farthing' The man who had secured the conviction of a scoundrel such as Verres, whose misgovernment of Sicily as Roman Praetor between 73 B C and 71 B C was an infamous chapter of Roman imperialism, was pledged himself to honourable behaviour

Some indication of what Roman rule meant to subject races may be gathered from the fact that the inhabitants of the small island of Cyprus used to scrape together 4,800,000 sesterces a year to bribe their Roman ruler not to billet his troops on them It was a common practice of Roman commanders to keep for themselves the money voted by the Senate for the expenses of their army by quartering their troops on the subject races to be fed and housed at their expense Cicero, who made his men live under canvas and yet refused the bribe, was regarded by the natives 'with speechless astonishment' and it was all he could do to stop them erecting temples, statues, or marble chariots in his honour One of the haughty aristocrats battening upon the unfortunate Cypriots was none other than Brutus, 'the noblest Roman of them all', who used to write to Cicero 'in a tone of hauteur, arrogance and offensive superiority', expecting him to help him collect arrears of unpaid interest on loans he had made to the islanders at a rate which Cicero was horrified to discover worked out at 48 per cent a year, 'an impossible sum', said Cicero 'It could not be paid, nor could I have allowed it' Cicero offered to get him 12 per cent but his agent refused to take it

Cicero was vain enough to hope that the modest campaign in which he overcame a few fractious hill tribes might earn him the coveted title of *Imperator* and the claim to a triumph through the streets of Rome, which, however, the Senate did not grant Those of the enemy he had captured were sold to the slave-dealers for 12 million sesterces

He thought himself lucky to get away so successfully for he was in mortal terror lest the Parthians should fall upon him and defeat him as they had defeated Crassus two years earlier His pathetic pleas for reinforcements were not heeded although he sent a dispatch to the magistrates and Senate warning them that the fate of many provinces 'on which the revenues of Rome depend' were in danger It was, he reported, hopeless to expect anything from Rome's allies because such had been 'the harshness

and injustice of our rule' that they were either too weak or so disaffected that they could not be trusted

His staff were by no means pleased to return from a year in an exposed, lonely and dangerous part of the world with no better reward than their pay, because Cicero had insisted on a strict accounting and the deposit of all credits in the Treasury 'Of the booty taken by me, no one', he said, 'except the Quaestors of the City, has touched or will touch a farthing.' He considered himself legally entitled to a modest 2,200,000 sesterces which he was able to bank for himself with business men in Ephesus, but he did not use it himself A few months later he wrote that 'the whole of it has been appropriated by Pompey' during his fight with Caesar which broke out in the following year, when of course Cicero lost it all because he backed the losing side

How many honest governors were there, like Cicero? We do not know, but Cicero himself hints that there were several Had there not been, all the wretched provincials would have been left without a tunic on their backs Far too many seem indeed to have been reduced to something approaching this condition Cicero had found 'a province drained by charges for maintenance', nobody, he said, could be more needy than one of the dependent kings and 'nothing can be stripped cleaner than his kingdom' Such was the misery of the once relatively prosperous peoples of the Middle East under Roman rule that it has been suggested that in their utter hopelessness they were led to turn for consolation to religions which directed their gaze away from the evils of the world around them, to cultivate instead satisfactions springing from the inward spiritual life, so seeking compensation on the other side of the grave for evils they were unable to remedy during their lifetime

The pessimism and despair provoked by successive Roman conquerors and, still worse, by the bloodsucking tax-gatherers and leeches in the shape of money-lenders following on their heels, could not be arrested by a solitary Cicero making a brief and very unwilling stay of one short year Imperialism is a word which has never recovered from the meaning which Cicero's contemporaries gave it Charged with emotional memories of these bad times it has served as a political 'smear word', often apparently in the absence of any clear notion of its real relevance to the conditions it purports to describe

Cicero was attempting to revive an obsolete tradition Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey had shown what profits war could bring, but they were feeble bunglers beside Julius Caesar who, in this sphere of action as in all others, did nothing by halves It was now obvious that, rightly handled, a Roman army could do anything a resolute man determined it should do to advance him in wealth, power and glory. Caesar's military career, in fact his whole life, has been very generally admired for the glory it brought Rome, less for the power it gave Caesar. Little has usually been said by his enthusiastic admirers about the sources of his great wealth. From his own point of view, riches were probably his most important immediate objective He went to Spain in 61 B C, crippled with a debt of 25 million sesterces War gave him a chance to sack and loot some Spanish towns, so when he returned to Rome a year later, after a vigorous campaign, he had amassed enough to enable him to look his creditors once again in the face The result of his ten years in the wilderness after 59 B C., fighting the German tribes and reducing Gaul to dependence on Rome, certainly added enormously to the influence and possessions of Rome Yet it is not very far wrong to say that in Caesar's eyes there was a more important cause at stake than the safety and glory of the Republic, and that was the personal security and advantage of Julius Caesar himself

During the ten years in which his army slashed its way along the Rhine about 400,000 of the wretched inhabitants were slaughtered and as many, if not more, men, women and children were torn from their native land, exposed naked on the slave-dealers' block, branded with a red-hot iron and sold into captivity like so many cattle After destroying human life and all that gave meaning and value to life, it was a relatively small matter that he also looted on a grand scale Not one of the hundreds of millions of sesterces Caesar collected so diligently in his ten years' piracy seems to have been paid into the Roman Treasury until that became in turn Caesar's own personal property in 46 B C Before then all his loot was used to enlarge his army, to bribe his soldiers and to corrupt politicians at home The ruin such activities brought to the slowly developing civilization in his path was of no concern to him or to any other Roman Cicero's brother Quintus was with Caesar during some of these exploits, including the expedition to Britain Cicero himself betrayed the prevalent

Roman attitude when he expressed his anxiety about the outcome of the 'British War'. It had been discovered, he said, that 'the approaches to the island are protected by astonishing masses of cliff Moreover, it is now known that there isn't a pennyweight of silver in that island, nor any hope of booty except from slaves, among whom I don't suppose you can expect any instructed in literature or music' No word of extending the benefits of Roman civilization and law to backward areas, nothing about trading opportunities or even of a desirable strengthening of Rome's hinterland, but plain smash-and-grab

When a cultivated Roman like Cicero spoke like that, it would have been idle to look for nobler sentiments elsewhere Nothing reveals more clearly the sordid and rotten foundations of Roman imperialism in the Republican era In his more responsible moods, however, Cicero was as conscious as any man has ever been of the duty of an imperial power towards its subject peoples The record of his actions as proconsul in Cilicia in 51 B C proves that he was no sham and empty preacher of virtue when, in his writings, he earnestly recommended high-minded devotion to the strict path of duty as obligatory upon Roman statesmen.

His service to humanity has been far greater than it was to Rome, for his memory endured as a perpetual guide to the conscience of mankind, not indeed always heard, frequently disobeyed by those who had heard him, but remaining a constant, steady beacon light to direct their wavering steps towards equality, justice, and humanitarian ideals

The Private Life of a Roman Politician

Large families do not seem to have been the fashion among the wealthier Romans in the declining years of the Republic In Cicero's family circle there was his wife Terentia, their daughter Tullia, and their only son, called Marcus after his father The boy was twelve years younger than his sister Beyond these three, Cicero had only his brother Quintus, married to Pomponia the waspish sister of Cicero's rich friend Atticus, and they had only one child, a boy, two years older than young Marcus Cicero

Judging by the outcome, both Cicero and his brother had an indifferent success in the difficult art of staying happily married

and the still more difficult art of bringing up their children Cicero and Terentia were united for thirty-one years, then, in his sixtieth year (in 46 B C), Cicero divorced her His brother Quintus, whose temper was more fiery, seems to have had a pretty miserable home life until he at length parted company with Pomponia after a married life of almost twenty-four years

Not much is known about the children despite the frequent and affectionate references to them in Cicero's letters He seems to have given some time and a good deal of thought to the education both of his son and of his nephew But his darling was his daughter Tullia, 'my dear little Tullia, dearer to me than life itself'. For her he had always sunny good humour But he does not say how the children lived, what games they played, where and how they had their early lessons, whether they went to the public games and festivals as children today go to cinemas, whether Tullia was able to walk alone in the streets of Rome or to go unattended to the houses of friends or relations The answer to all these and many other questions, which would help, did we but know them, to make the young Ciceros and their fellow Romans seem understandable human creatures, must mostly remain unknown In comparison with the children of the poor, we may believe that they had an enviable time In summer they probably spent happy days at Cicero's family home in the hills at Arpinum, wandering along the shady banks of the Liris whose full stream was refreshingly cold in the hottest days of an Italian summer Or they would be at the seaside where in calm weather Cicero would take them shrimping Other country recreations are very little mentioned in surviving Roman literature Sport, and particularly hunting, do not seem to have entered into the life of a Roman gentleman But the passion for blood-sports, particularly degrading fights with wild beasts and between gladiators in the Circus or theatre, became an increasingly sordid feature of Roman life during the last hundred years of the Republic

Childhood did not last long, particularly for Roman girls Tullia was engaged very early and was married in the year her father was Consul, when she was probably not fourteen years old Her father by no means lost sight of her, for she was frequently mentioned in his letters Cicero did his best for his two children and tried not to spoil the boy, but it seems that his darling Tullia

often got her own way. One April when Tullia was about seventeen, Cicero had to rearrange his time-table. 'On the 1st May I leave Formiae,' he said, 'intending to reach Antium on the 3rd May For there are Games at Antium from the 4th to the 6th of May, and Tullia wants to see them '

The two boys may have gone to the Games as well but all that remains on the record about them is more serious stuff about their education and training Cicero gave time and thought to the problem of their upbringing which he could ill spare from the often overwhelming demands made upon his time by his public position.

Yet neither Quintus nor young Marcus Cicero became the model young men Cicero had hoped and planned to develop His nephew Quintus indeed gave him serious cause for alarm after 10 January 49 B C, when Julius Caesar had crossed the Rubicon and it was plain that civil war would decide who was to rule Rome Cicero was prominently identified with the opponents of Caesar. Pompey had in fact put him in command of the Campanian coast

At that dangerous period young Quintus was nearly eighteen, Marcus was nearly sixteen, and neither of the two lads was so resolutely anti-Caesar as Cicero wished. Referring to his own boy Marcus, Cicero remarked, 'because he is not after all more dutiful than he is, he gives me extraordinary pain' But young Quintus was worse 'Oh dear! oh dear!' lamented Cicero, 'it is the keenest sorrow of my life – corrupted no doubt by our system of indulgence, he has gone very far, to a point indeed which I do not venture to describe ' He was indeed thought to have gone to curry favour with Caesar by denouncing his uncle as one of Caesar's enemies This was bad enough for Cicero, it was tragic for Cicero's brother

It has recently been said that almost the bitterest and most hopeless tragedies of all are the tragedies of parents with bad children The tragedy of children with bad parents is no less acute and the childhood of little Quintus was poisoned by the squabbles of his mother and father His father was now to reap the consequences.

'My brother is prostrate with grief and is not so much afraid for his own life as for mine ' Cicero and his brother must have experienced that anguish of mind which in our own day has

been the hard fate of those liberal-minded parents in totalitarian police-states who were denounced by their own children to the enemies of freedom. Unlike some of the Hitler youth, young Quintus did not apparently succeed in his treachery, if treachery it was, for he came back again to his family. Cicero gave him a good dressing-down. 'I gave it to young Quintus when he returned!' he wrote to the boy's other uncle Atticus. 'I perceive that it was a piece of avarice on his part, and the hope of a large bounty. This is a serious evil enough, but the crime which I feared, I hope he did not commit.'

Cicero said he would school and control him but he began the job rather late in the day, as he seems himself to have realized. He blamed his brother. 'His father has always spoilt him but his indulgence is not responsible for his being untruthful or grasping or wanting in affection for his family, though it perhaps does make him headstrong and self-willed as well as aggressive.' Not a very pleasant picture, but it seems to have been only too common, because Cicero goes on to refer to these disagreeable traits in his character as being 'the results of over-indulgence, but they are pardonable, we must admit, considering what young men are nowadays'.

He flattered himself that he had brought up young Marcus more satisfactorily. 'My own son I keep under control without difficulty. He is the most tractable boy possible.' The evil days into which Cicero had survived made the task of training a son for public life terribly difficult. His responsibility for the boy weakened Cicero's never very firm resolution in times of danger. Cicero could be candid about his own shortcomings. He once wrote: 'If there is anyone who is nervous in matters of moment and danger and who is always more inclined to fear a reverse than to hope for success, I am that man.' Consequently he must have found it difficult to give his son firm guidance. 'My remorseful pity for him makes me less determined in politics,' said Cicero, and 'the more he desires to be staunch the more I fear turning out a cruel father to him.'

As we have seen in the totalitarian countries in our own day, the loss of political liberty poisons the whole of life, leaving no safe refuge, not even in family relationships. So it was with Cicero and his brother. Quintus had been one of Caesar's high-ranking staff officers in Gaul and had done exceedingly well for

himself financially in consequence When, after long and desperate hesitation, Cicero resolved to join Pompey across the sea he persuaded Quintus to accompany him and to bring his son As soon as Pompey had been hopelessly defeated by Caesar at Pharsalus in 48 B C , Quintus angrily attacked Cicero for having misled him into deserting his former chief to join the losing side He quarrelled violently with his brother and took himself with his young son to throw himself on Caesar's mercy 'They will easily obtain their pardons,' said Cicero, who himself wrote to Caesar accepting full responsibility for having got them to go along with him to Pompey's camp Cicero was in such danger that he added, 'I only hope that as they will have seen Caesar first, they may choose to aid me with him as much as I should have wished to aid them, if I had the power'.

Unfortunately his brother had not Cicero's generous disposition Possibly he was still afraid and anxious to show excessive zeal to clear himself of the charge of deserting Caesar Whatever the motive, the fact remains that he denounced Cicero in wild terms News about his goings-on soon reached Cicero Quintus sent letters to several of Cicero's friends which came into Cicero's hands He sent on all those addressed to people near at hand 'They immediately came to me boiling with indignation, loudly exclaiming against "the villain" They read me the letters full of every kind of abuse of me Ligurius raved, said that he knew that Quintus was detested by Caesar, and yet the latter had not only favoured him but had also given him all that money out of compliment to me Thus outraged I determined to ascertain what he had said in his letters to the rest For I thought it would be fatal to Quintus himself if such villainy on his part became generally known. I found that they were of the same kind' Cicero had taken an extraordinary liberty in opening the letters He sent them on to Atticus saying, 'If you think that it is for his interest that they should be delivered, please deliver them It won't do me any harm ' But it was a bitter blow and Cicero did not lack other information showing that his brother and nephew were unsparing in their abuse of him Uncertain as he was of his own position and about the provision he could hope to make for his wife, son, and daughter, this added hazard from his nearest relation with whom he had always been on affectionately intimate terms was crushing 'These things', he said, 'are a positive

torture to me ' In the end Caesar pardoned Cicero with every show of friendship and regard, but it was two years before Marcus and Quintus were again reconciled His nephew Quintus kept up the animosity still longer His attacks on his distinguished uncle were notorious This was not the full story of Cicero's family troubles in these disastrous years

Terentia, Cicero's wife, is a silent figure in the story She is often mentioned Some of Cicero's letters to her are preserved They are affectionate and emotional enough at the time of Cicero's exile, but they cooled off considerably in the last ten years of his life After Cicero's flight to join Pompey in the summer of 49 B C and his absence from Rome for over two years, the marriage finally came to grief There is one short letter of Cicero's to his wife, curt to the point of rudeness, which shows that they were hardly on speaking terms at the time when he returned, with Caesar's full pardon, to live once more in Rome What the cause of the break may have been is unknown Cicero darkly refers in a letter to a friend to the disordered state of his domestic affairs, to misconduct which left nothing safe within the walls of his house, to intrigues and treachery, but what it was all about we do not know It can only be guessed that Cicero's wife, who had remained in Italy during those decisive two years, was perhaps not as resolute in opposition to Caesarism as her husband She, like his brother Quintus, may have reproached him bitterly with his folly in throwing in his lot with Pompey, reproaches which would have cut Cicero all the keener because he more than anyone knew the hollow incompetence of Pompey and the hopelessness of his cause, and he as much as anybody suffered from the disaster which had overtaken the Republic It is certain at least that no other woman had replaced Terentia in Cicero's affections Female society had little attraction for him, although, like all prominent figures, he enjoyed a wide circle of acquaintances among the best society of Rome There is a story of a dinner party, in the year he divorced his wife, at which he found himself in the company of a notorious actress who had been running around with Caesar's lieutenant Mark Antony and who was assumed to be just as ready to take up with any other man Cicero confessed that he had not known that she would be at the party but it is not necessary to infer that he would have declined the invitation had he known that she was to be among the guests 'The fact is,' he said, 'that sort of

thing never had any attraction for me when I was a young man, much less now that I am an old one.' He was proof against the powerful attractions of the notorious Clodia. She was a Consul's wife but the sister of his arch-enemy P. Clodius, a fact quite sufficient to colour Cicero's views about her. But he seems to have seen her for what she was worth. 'I detest that woman, so unworthy of a Consul' was his verdict, quoting, as he loved to do, an appropriate line of poetry: 'for "a shrew she is, and with her husband jars".'

When, therefore, at the age of sixty he remarried very shortly after his divorce, it is most unlikely that any grand passion explained his action. His new bride was Publilia, a girl young enough to have been his grand-daughter. Cicero's interest in her arose from the fact that her father had left a large fortune, much of which was bequeathed to Cicero in trust for her. Cicero was in the habit of living in a luxurious style and he was often in need of money. It was a scandalizing match, and Cicero must have felt ashamed of the lengths to which financial pressure had driven him. What did Tullia think of him? We can only guess, but in any case she had short time in which to tell him. For within three months she was suddenly stricken and she died towards the end of February in the following year (45 B.C.). She was little more than thirty years of age. Life had not been very kind to her. She had become a widow before her twentieth year, she was again married, and then divorced. Her third husband, a handsome scoundrel, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had previously married an elderly lady for her money, was her mother's choice and, it seems, her own also, when Cicero was away in his province of Cilicia. Cicero, who greatly disliked Dolabella, wanted her to marry Tiberius Nero, but a father's wishes evidently counted for little. After four years she was again divorced. Her first child died in infancy. Her second boy did not long survive her. Her own death in such circumstances was the hardest of the many blows which Cicero had to bear. He was consumed by a grief probably not unmixed with remorse and regrets for his broken home life. He looked everywhere for consolation but in vain. He spent whole days wandering aimlessly in woods and thickets, searching in vain for some consolation from philosophy and religion, unable to master the grief which shook him. All that he could think of doing was to try to find some worthy memorial for the one human

being for whom he had nothing but tenderness. His young bride is said to have foolishly shown that she had no regrets for Tullia, so Cicero at once sent her back to her mother and made it very plain that he had no desire ever to see her again. Despite his great need of money to repay Terentia's dowry and to buy a garden to be dedicated to the shade of Tullia, he very soon divorced little Publilia. Somehow he had to repay her dowry. Poor Atticus, who was called upon to finance these expensive undertakings, must have winced when he thought of their cost.

Troubles were now crowding thick and fast upon the Republic and upon Cicero. 'The disorganization and confusion are so great, the general dismay and collapse caused by a most shocking war are so complete,' said Cicero, 'that each man thinks the place where he happens to be the most wretched in the world.' When Cicero was at Rome he said, 'I feel no doubt that at the present moment the most miserable place for a good man to be in is Rome.' So he did not stay there.

'Do you wonder at my keeping away from the city,' he asked, 'in which my house has no pleasure to offer me, while the state of affairs, the men, the Forum, and the Senate House are all utterly repulsive to me?'

Having no public occupation, he sought consolation in literature. 'The amount of my reading and writing is such', he wrote, 'that my people find a holiday more laborious than I do working days.' And again, 'The amount I write is beyond belief, for I work in the night hours also as I cannot sleep.'

In the year which followed the death of Tullia, Cicero lived in retirement, devoting his time to writing. Then it was that he composed those moral and philosophical works which helped to popularize Greek thought among his own countrymen and during many succeeding centuries: the *De Finibus*, the *Academica*, and *Tusculan Disputations*, to be followed by others upon which his fame was largely to rest.

The Private Life of a Young Man About Town

Cicero, excusing his nephew by comparing him with 'what young men are nowadays', had many unpleasant examples in his memory and before his eyes, none worse no doubt than his arch-enemy Publius Clodius. Few were as unpleasant and as vicious as

he, but it seems clear that, in wild and dissolute behaviour, he led many of his countrymen by a rather narrow margin

Some aristocratic young gentlemen in Rome's smartest social set took to reckless political adventure rather in the spirit of surf-riders. As ordered constitutional life gave way to anarchy and civil war, many a sedate Roman home became the uneasy scene of hurried intrigues, alarms, plots and counterplots

The meteoric career of Julius Caesar showed what glittering prizes rewarded audacity, dash and enterprise From the mad social world of vast expenses, colossal debts, and political intrigue, he had gone to Spain where his one year's command got him a fortune Then, after epic adventures in Gaul, he returned with the wealth of the world and power to command the world 'Sulla did it, why should not I do it?' Pompey used to say Not even the most ambitious may have hoped to repeat Caesar's exploits but they were there to show one sure way to supreme social distinction

Something of the heights and depths of Roman life and feeling on the more ordinary level of everyday life has been preserved down the ages in the work of one young Italian, Catullus, whose poetic genius lights up for us the gloom and sorrow as well as some of the joys of life in Rome 2,000 years ago A native of Verona far to the north of Rome, Catullus seems to have been left fairly well provided for when he inherited the family home on the shores of the beautiful Lake Garda He also had a small farm almost near enough to Rome to be considered fashionable Like Cicero, he responded to the magnetic pull of Rome, yet he never lost, amid the fascination of the great city, all sense of the joy and well-being that boyhood's memories attached to his northern home

Before reaching manhood he must have had a thorough grounding in literary studies, particularly in Greek and Latin verse Literature retained its hold upon him A case of books went with him to Rome but he said that he had left many more at his country home Not for him was the public career to which Cicero devoted his days with such whole-hearted devotion He did indeed, about the year 57 B C, take a minor appointment on the staff of a Roman Governor sent to manage the province of Bithynia, a move which has been plausibly connected with his reference to his empty purse full of cobwebs and to the heavy mortgage, more damaging than all the winds that blow, by

which his property was threatened A gay life among the city's spendthrifts had soon beggared him If poverty was his motive in serving abroad, he wasted his time Bithynia had then been a Roman province for a bare ten years, but war, the influx of Roman tax-gatherers and successive Roman governors and their staffs had left few pickings for their successors Catullus came back no richer than he went out, an unsatisfactory state of affairs for which he blamed his chief, the Roman governor, Memmius, who was, he said, far too grasping and selfish to take any interest in the welfare or the fortunes of his staff When people mentioned Bithynia in Rome they thought of the new practice of being carried about in litters in the Asiatic style by the sturdy slaves brought from the new province In some amusing verses Catullus records his loss of face when a girl, whom he let assume that he too had at least his eight litter-carriers, asked to borrow them In fact he had not managed to bring back one broken-winded slave Catullus was by no means alone in his bad luck, for he commiserates with some of his friends whose scanty luggage, easily packed, shows them also to have been unfortunate in seeing service under greedy chiefs

However, he had his share of the good things of life Besides his two homes he writes, with an affection unusual for a Roman, in praise of a fast sailing yacht he brought back from the East to his own northern shores For him, as for gilded youth, and indeed the generality of mankind in all ages, good food and wine enjoyed with congenial companions were prominent among the satisfactions to be had from life The boundary between normal social life and wilder excesses was however far from being as clearly drawn then as it is in our own day Catullus, like other Roman poets, protested that his life was more respectable than his verses where he certainly let himself go without restraint They have an air of realism contrasting sharply with mere products of the imagination, and revulsive enough are the impressions to which some of them give rise

If, upon a candid review, the seamy side of Roman life bulks so largely, it must be remembered that we judge it in the light of continuous tradition of Christian morality of almost 2,000 years The grand idea that the greatest crime one human being can commit against another is to treat him or her merely as an instrument or as a means of obtaining some private satisfaction had not,

in the days of Catullus and Cicero, been clearly proclaimed for all to hear The unquestioned acceptance of slavery, indeed the active steps taken to develop it on a scale probably greater than has ever been seen among the white races of mankind, shows how far the Romans were from respecting, in the practical conduct of their lives, a belief in the doctrine of the real, fundamental dignity of the human personality

While it would be ridiculous to pretend that, in these circumstances, most Romans wallowed in a kind of animal indulgence, it would be equally false to the facts to deny that life was, for many, gross and debasing to a degree that would now seem utterly revolting The life of the common people was held cheaply, and the vast majority of Romans and Italians were common people When grossness is widespread throughout a society, everyone runs a risk of infection. Yet all was not black The gallantry, deep human affection and upright sentiments to be found in the work of Catullus were more than a veneer of nobility of thought and feeling overlying a turbulent and undisciplined nature

The two great tragedies of his life were the death of his brother in the East where he probably went in the service of the Republic and the unhappy ending of a great love affair. He called the lady Lesbia and it is generally believed, although it is not known for certain, that she was Clodia, sister of Cicero's enemy Clodius, and wife of Quintus Metellus Celer, Consul in 60 B C , one of the most vigorous of the aristocratic opponents of Caesar and the *populares* When Catullus first met Lesbia, or Clodia, as we may assume her to have been, she was a brilliant leader in Rome's smartest social set, and her husband was still living He died suddenly and so unexpectedly in 59 B C that he was commonly thought to have been poisoned Such already was Clodia's reputation that she was suspected of having given him the fatal dose Catullus, young and ingenuous, fell so hopelessly in love with her that his own life was wrecked and made worthless in his eyes when she threw him over, as she very soon did, for a succession of other lovers, selected apparently with little taste or discernment Hell has many furies and Catullus showed that a man can rival the fury of a woman scorned. In some searing verses he fastened the most unsavoury reputation upon the enchantress whose charms he used to celebrate with a heartfelt intensity impossible to doubt or to forget.

The experience of another young Roman, who succeeded Catullus in Clodia's affections, seems to prove that Catullus was abundantly justified in his denunciation of an utterly worthless woman Marcus Caelius Rufus, a former pupil of Cicero's and one of his most sprightly correspondents, had attracted Clodia's attention and had for a short while fallen under her spell Catullus, who evidently had counted him among his own friends, was bitter at what he thought was the treacherous betrayal by which Rufus robbed him of his beloved This time Clodia was thrown over, for Rufus soon tired of her Her fury was unbounded It was also highly dangerous Rufus soon found himself before a Roman court (in 56 B C) to answer the double charge of robbing Clodia of gold and of attempting to poison her Cicero had already found that it was no light matter to incur the hatred of the Claudian house, but he very willingly undertook the defence of his wild and reckless young friend He had some old scores of his own to repay If Clodia had a reputation to lose, it certainly could not have survived Cicero's attack Disclaiming any enmity to women, still less to 'a woman who is the friend of all men', he cleverly turned the accusations against Rufus into so many admissions of her own guilt, summoned the shade of old Appius Claudius, the blind Censor of the fourth century B C , from the underworld to denounce the shameful life of his own descendant, so glaringly contrasted with the strict manners of the good old time, and, without in so many words accusing her of murdering her own husband, referred to his sudden end in language which pointed to only one conclusion 'Shall that woman,' he asked, 'coming from the house in which her husband died, dare to speak of the rapid action of poison? Is she not afraid of the very house itself, lest it should make some sound? Does she not dread the very walls, which know her guilty secret? Does she not shudder at the recollection of that fatal and melancholy night?'

Rufus was acquitted There could be but one inference The Roman court believed Clodia to have been as dissolute, debauched and degraded as Cicero, the enemy of her house, and as Catullus, her passionate lover, had declared her to be Rufus however was clearly no saint and his future career was stormy His colossal debts, like those of Caesar, Antony, and Curio and other young aristocrats were the talk of the town and a scandal in the Forum He kept in with Cicero, was at constant hazards from

the enmity of the Claudii, but managed to pursue his career. He was elected as Curule Aedile in 51 B.C., so his year of office in Rome came at a time when Cicero was away in his province of Cilicia. Rufus pursued him there with letters appealing for help to enable him to put on a really magnificent show in the public games, for which, as Aedile, he was responsible. He badly wanted some panthers for the wild beast show and he plagued Cicero unmercifully for them. Cicero however had other notions about the dignity of a Roman governor and does not seem to have bothered himself unduly to put on wild beast hunts for the Roman circus. Later Rufus joined Caesar against Pompey and was Praetor in the year 48 B.C. Mounting financial difficulties at last overtook him and like Catiline, with whom he had had some connexions fifteen years earlier, he tried to introduce some desperate measures to rescue himself from his embarrassments. They failed and, switching his allegiance, he lost his life trying to stir up trouble for Caesar ostensibly on Pompey's behalf in Campania. It was a sordid story. He had emptied gaols and enlisted slaves, gladiators, and any riff-raff he could find. This was not at all the sort of life Cicero had in mind when he sent him the advice with which this book opened (see p. 1). He, like Milo, his accomplice in the grim final scene, met a violent death as did Catiline, Clodius, Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, all of whom shared the fate of many of the gilded youth whose revelries at Rome and at the fashionable beach of Baiae had shocked sober citizens. This degeneration, decay, and collapse of a form of culture that had once been fresh, strong, and virile is the momentous climax enacted in the lives of the younger generation of Cicero's Rome.

What happened in the end to Catullus and Clodia is not known. They, like the vast majority of their countrymen and women, soon pass out of sight and record. It is difficult to reconstruct much of their lives upon the basis of the scanty shreds of evidence that have survived. For a brief moment they light up the pages of history and disclose a world in some ways familiar but in others strangely foreign to that of our own experience. Cicero took a poor view of his world. The whole day would not be long enough, he said, to describe the spread of luxury and vice, the scanty regard paid to marriage vows, and the abandonment of what true Romans regarded as moral conduct.

But then, Cicero was as unusual a type in Roman life as a

book-loving philosopher would be in a crowd of football or baseball fans today His well-earned fame saved him from being dismissed in the way lesser men like him would be dismissed, as a curious oddity completely out of the stream of national life That stream itself, then as now, flowed silently on and away to eternal forgetfulness We cannot fully measure today the time in which we live We each know but little of the vast stream of life in which we are immersed It is true that in the last few decades serious efforts have been made to select samples of it for measurement and study Yet we still stand on the threshold of knowledge In the Roman Republic the very notion that there was anything to be measured, or that study could bring any help in controlling the fate of social groups and classes, seems to have been wanting Our small knowledge has therefore to be balanced against a vaster ignorance that we shall in all probability be for ever unable to overcome

Chapter Sixteen

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF ROME

Education

THE influence and importance of outstanding intellectual figures like Cicero in the Roman Republic was all the greater because Romans had been late in developing their schools The Roman tradition of education, exemplified in the practice of old Cato the Censor, was for every Roman father to bring up his own sons in all the manly arts and to give them as well such political education as he could With this personal coaching as a foundation, the younger generation then completed the process for themselves in the compulsory comradeship of the army, by frequenting the Forum and by taking part in the public gatherings of the electoral assemblies (the *comitia*) When, in the later degenerate days of the decaying Republic wealthy Romans no longer kept up these ancient customs, but handed their sons over to Greek tutors, both the boys and the State suffered The wealthy had tutors living in their homes and those who could not afford to employ them sent their sons to schools which seem to have begun to multiply in Cicero's time

The results were usually poor For the tutors were mostly slaves or freedmen and could not therefore inspire the respect and affection of a father They were usually despised more than the father had ever been reverenced Roman boys therefore not only had little healthy outlet for their imitative instincts but, on the contrary, ceased to associate authority with respect. There were, to be sure, exceptions Cicero seems to have taken some pains with his own son and nephew Young Cicero was sent when he was about university age, as his father before him, to the professional and finishing schools of Athens, which became the spiritual home of Cicero, if not of other educated Romans

This was a new development As late as 161 B C some Greek philosophers were expelled from Rome, and Cicero's grandfather was probably among the Romans glad to see them go A vigorous cultural life had nevertheless begun to take shape although it was largely derivative The Romans had been preceded in every field

of cultural and scientific activity by the Greeks, whose creative genius between the years 750 B C and 350 B C successively developed the arts of music, literature, architecture, sculpture, and painting Their achievements in these fields as well as in medicine and science were, for that epoch of human history, so complete and so perfect that they made rivalry seem a vain effort No Mediterranean people except the Romans seemed able merely to absorb the lessons Greece had to teach, so there was no question of any other race being able to sustain and carry on her creative activity The very excellence of the Greek models seemed to stifle effort The first promise of Roman artistic effort made no headway from its early Etruscan and Italian beginnings, no doubt because of the superior attractiveness and satisfaction to be had from the arts of Greece To the Romans at least belongs the credit for their good taste in recognizing the excellence of Greek work and in going to great expense to secure examples of it and to copy it as faithfully as they could.

Roman sculpture, painting and architecture seem to have made few noteworthy developments during the entire history of the Republic Music was never an art to which the Romans contributed anything of significance The story is the same in science The attempt to cure sickness and disease had always been one of the earliest stimulants of man's scientific efforts, but here the Romans were also entirely dependent upon the Greeks

Among the practical arts it has been seen how Greek craftsmen, often enslaved by Roman masters, shaped the jewellery, designed and executed the finer pottery and artistic furnishings of the well-to-do Roman home Greeks and orientals navigated Roman ships In building and in such municipal engineering as is involved in providing water and sewerage systems, the Romans were indeed better able to stand alone but, despite the high valuation rightly placed upon the plumber's art (as in modern America), such improvements must be held to stand at the base rather than at the summit of constructive civilization.

Literature

The last two centuries of the Roman Republic did however show a remarkable development and enrichment in literature. The Punic Wars, and particularly the Second Punic War, enormously

stimulated Roman self-consciousness and so paved the way for the individual expression of Roman minds Then began that deepening awareness of the range and glory of Greek civilization, soon to be rapidly developed by the conquest of Greece, and by the import into Rome of large numbers of Greek slaves skilled as craftsmen, scribes, teachers, orators, and secretaries The limited outlook of traditional Roman ways with its scant provision for cultural activity seemed unbearably cramped and sterile by comparison The hellenizing process may be said to have begun after the Second Punic War in the first quarter of the second century B C and Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, was its leader It was slow at first in making headway in the traditional custom-bound society of Rome Yet it was not a movement affecting the wealthy classes alone In Sicily masses of Roman troops made their first acquaintance with the Greek theatre They acquired a taste for it which they took back to Rome, so providing a demand for entertainment which was amply supplied Borrowed largely from the Greek in outright translation or adaptation, the new comic theatre nevertheless began to speak with a thoroughly Roman idiom in the plays of Plautus and Terence Plautus died shortly after the Second Punic War while old Cato was Censor (184 B C) Terence belonged to the next generation but he lived a hundred years before Cicero was at the height of his fame

Theirs at least are almost the only Roman plays which have survived Hundreds of others have perished in common with the great bulk of Roman writing Nevertheless, it is evident that by Cicero's lifetime a mature and sophisticated literature had suddenly flowered Cicero himself helped as much as anyone to create it Mankind has not forgotten the immense service he rendered during the succeeding seventeen centuries in which Latin, which he first wrote to perfection, was everywhere the familiar second language of cultivated men But it was not merely as a skilful writer of harmonious and eloquent prose that he has been remembered The medieval fathers of the Church, St Ambrose, St Jerome, St Thomas Aquinas, who looked upon the world from a viewpoint very different from Cicero's, all bore witness to his power With the revival of humanistic learning Cicero's influence reached new heights with Petrarch and his followers

For none of his contemporaries can the same claim be made,

although for creative genius and originality there were greater writers than he He was indeed dismissed by a later writer of antiquity as a man uninspired and with no touch of madness in his soul The oratorical style he developed soon went out of fashion just as the declamatory style in the theatre, with which actors such as Henry Irving used to thrill Victorian audiences would now barely get a hearing as an odd turn in a variety performance Among profounder writers there was Lucretius, little regarded it seems by his contemporaries, who, fiercely scornful of contemporary superstitions, expounded the philosophy of Epicurus for Roman readers in the majestic lines of his poem *On the Nature of Things* Pushing the search for personal satisfaction to the farthest point consistent with human happiness and intelligence, Epicurus was led to the profoundly melancholy conclusion that all human activity is futile This was no doctrine for a Roman Catullus, the young country boy from the North, whose story was referred to at the end of the last chapter, wearing his heart on his sleeve, expounded no philosophy Amid some clever verses of a gay young Roman libertine and some academic experiments in literary versifying, he also left a record of the early inspiration of his passionate love for the worthless Clodia, 'Lesbia of the burning eyes', and a convincing picture of his heart-broken misery when, following her wont, she cast him off to seek new victims elsewhere The easy facility of his work struck a fresh lyric note not heard in the surviving works of other writers but the testimony which both he and Cicero bear to some of their contemporaries whose works have all perished, is evidence of the vigorous creativity of the Ciceronian age of Roman literature.

The chief actor on the political scene might have rivalled and excelled Cicero in the world of letters had he not forced himself to a life of action with the sword rather than the pen, but in his *Commentaries* on his campaign in Gaul and in his other propaganda effort, an account of the civil war he had precipitated, Julius Caesar left models of terse military narrative in a bare economical prose contrasting markedly with the sonorities, rotundities, and polished periods of Cicero

Sallust, who wrote after the death of Cicero, had grown rich in Caesar's service His history of Rome between 78 B C and 67 B C. has not survived C Sallustius Crispus, to give him his full name, also wrote a shorter account of the conspiracy of Catiline in which

he more or less follows Cicero's own version, and a brief history of the Jugurthine War in which he was concerned to praise Marius, the democratic leader, at the expense of the nobles whose descendants were Caesar's enemies All such works were addressed to the cultivated classes of Roman society. A publishing trade seems already to have developed, but not upon such a scale as to provide authors with an income from their pen The motive for writing was not money but fame, renown and influence with the only public opinion which mattered – the social equals and superiors of the writers The commercial interest in literature, regarded as marketable private property belonging to the authors, was then quite unknown, indeed, it did not develop in England until the eighteenth century

Books of the time were papyrus paper rolls and much care was evidently taken in their production Each was of course handwritten and the work was done by slaves Cicero's banker friend Atticus seems to have employed very many copyists and may be regarded as the Roman equivalent of a publisher The rolls or volumes so produced he no doubt sold at a profit Books in this shape were plentiful Catullus, wishing to damn the boring works of one otherwise unknown writer Volusius, describes them as providing loose wrappings for mackerel in the fish shops when they were not applied to yet baser uses in what Victorian respectability knew as 'the usual domestic offices'

There were as yet no public libraries, and Romans with literary tastes made their own collections It was a task to which Cicero gave much thought, energy and affection His letters abound with references to his beloved volumes, his efforts to add to them, and to see among other collections those he did not himself possess 'Mind you don't promise your library to anybody, however keen a collector you may find for it' he wrote to his friend Atticus 'for I am hoarding up all my little savings to get it as a resource in my old age ' 'If I succeed in that I shall be richer than Crassus and look down on any man's manors and meadows ' He must have lost most of his much-prized books when he was driven into exile, but he seems to have recovered a number A slave, Tyrannio, was employed in rearranging them Cicero told Atticus that 'Tyrannio has made a wonderfully good arrangement of my books, the remains of which are better than I had expected ' However, he borrowed two library slaves from Atticus to help

'as gluers and in other subordinate work'. They did their work well 'Your men', he told Atticus later, 'have beautified my library by making up the books and appending title slips' The result pleased him enormously 'Since Tyrannio has arranged my books for me,' he writes later, 'my house seems to have had a soul added to it' This was his villa at Antium in the spring of 56 B C Then, as in England before the rise of great public collections in the national libraries, a literary worker depended much upon the generosity of private owners for the sight of rare works Cicero was fortunate in getting access to the priceless library of Greek works, including the writings of Aristotle, which the dictator Sulla had brought back with him from the East

The literary life for which Cicero was so well fitted and in which he found so deep and abiding satisfaction was only a part of his busy career Few Roman aristocrats gave more time to it than he, but there were some exceptions, such as the scholarly antiquary Varro, of whose many and lengthy works only a short treatise on farming and smallholding and a work on the Latin language have survived. Varro was one of Cicero's literary correspondents on whom he depended for books and much miscellaneous information There seems also to have been a race of professional researchers and historians who made what use they could of the early records and the works of the early annalists of Rome 'The mere chronological record of the annals has very little charm for us' was Cicero's verdict on these early records A few men had begun to put together somewhat primitive histories in the century after the two Punic Wars, and in the generation before Cicero more ambitious histories were compiled for a growing semi-educated public One author, Gellius, filled a work no longer extant, extending to ninety-seven books, with stories of Rome's past, legends of the kings and of the famous Roman families The most successful of the romantic historians in this period before Cicero was Valerius Antias, whose writings have also perished A more critical spirit slowly developed so that Cicero and his friends took more than the proverbial pinch of salt before swallowing everything written by these earlier authors So much is clear from Cicero's letters themselves, one of the best remaining indices of the degree of vigour in the intellectual interests of the time Yet for Cicero, until the final defeat of the Republic by Caesar, literary interests and pursuits were forced to take second

place, sandwiched between the more urgent and practical matters demanding the time of a prominent Roman statesman. Cicero in one quite shameless letter shows how, for him, a political reputation was more important than historical truth One of his acquaintance, L Lucceius, was writing a history of the times, and Cicero confessed to him that 'I am inflamed with an inconceivably ardent desire, and one, as I think, of which I have no reason to be ashamed, that in a history written by you my name should be conspicuous and frequently mentioned with praise ' This was bad enough, but he goes on to say, 'I again and again ask you outright both to praise those actions of mine in warmer terms than you perhaps feel, and in that respect to neglect the laws of history' and even 'to yield to your affection for me a little more than truth shall justify'

No words have done more damage to Cicero's reputation in the eyes of posterity than these of his own deliberate writing, perhaps because we mistakenly suppose that there was no need for the public men of the past to employ publicity agents or to devise tactics which are commonplace enough in our own world of business, entertainment and politics

Letters were usually scratched on waxed tablets They were also written upon paper made from papyrus, an old Egyptian export, or on parchment, and were sent sealed by wax or a kind of gypsum or clay on which was stamped the device on the writer's signet ring

It is all the more remarkable that so much of Cicero's correspondence should have survived So surprising indeed that in our own time the ingenious theory has been proposed, by M Jérôme Carcopino, that the collection was published about ten years after Cicero's murder at the instigation, or to gain the favour, of Octavian, during his conflict with Antony The object of publication was to discredit Cicero completely by revealing in the clearest light Cicero's vanity, weakness and timidity, love of luxury, carelessness over money-matters, self-seeking, shameless flattery of friend and foe, political manoeuvring and trickery After trying to blast the reputation of Cicero and his circle, Carcopino then argues that Atticus had this aim in publishing the letters for he was seeking to curry favour with Octavian, who had connived at Cicero's murder An epicurean such as Atticus would not merely regard loyalty to a dead friend as of no account but would, for his

own profit, be very ready himself to be the tool by which his friend's reputation was destroyed. Certainly this bad effect was produced upon some of Cicero's admirers during the Renaissance when the letters were rediscovered, as the anguished remarks of Petrarch survive to prove, but subsequently readers have discovered in them the whole man and have balanced Cicero's many amiable qualities and his great abilities against his evident confession of human weaknesses.

Plausibly as Carcopino presents his theory, it has not won general acceptance. If the letters were published around 34 B.C. as he contends, Cicero to most Romans would have been a dim figure from almost another world whose influence would be unlikely to cause Octavian any uneasiness. Indeed it has been argued that Augustus, far from wishing to discredit Cicero, regretted his crime in proscribing him. In 39 B.C. he had pardoned young Cicero, later promoting him to be a priest and Consul. Whatever may have been the motive or occasion of their publication, the important thing is that from Cicero's correspondence, written as he said himself 'in the language of everyday life', we are able to gain some insight into the nature of the hundreds of thousands of letters by which Romans managed their private affairs, pursued their fortunes, maintained their friendships, discussed politics, business and pleasure, while the framework of their Republican system of government was cracking and decaying around them. Despite the sophistication of society there was no independent class of critics and intellectuals such as that which developed in Europe during and after the eighteenth century, free to comment upon public affairs and to try to agitate, influence and guide public opinion, often on the strength of little or no practical experience and usually free from any personal responsibility or liability for their actions. Such classes, shrewdly described in our own day as embracing 'the rhetorical professions', had no outlet for their activities before the days of the free press. Newspapers did not exist in Cicero's world although, as Consul in 59 B.C., Caesar had created the rudiments of a news service and a report of the proceedings in the Senate. The only avenue to political influence was an active part in the life of the Forum leading up to election to political offices with their sobering responsibilities.

When, in spite of Cicero and his friends, Caesar abolished the

Republic and ruled as uncrowned king of Rome, Cicero no longer had full scope for his talents His only refuge was in literature 'If no one will employ us,' he wrote to a friend, 'let us compose and read "Republics" And if we cannot do so in the Senate House and Forum, yet at least (after the example of the most learned of the ancients) on paper and in books let us govern the State, and investigate its customs and laws ' It was on that basis that Cicero set himself up in his old age to guide and instruct his countrymen in three outstanding works, *The Republic*, *On The Laws*, both of which have been largely lost, and the work on Duty, *De Officiis* Powerless to deflect the tremendous struggle surging around him, they remained, after the battles had died away, to stimulate and illuminate succeeding generations of men

Medicine and Surgery

In creative thought, philosophy and science, no Roman work remains giving the smallest indication that Rome would have been able at any time to match the creative genius of the Greeks The Romans, it has been said, invented nothing So sweeping a judgement is perhaps too harsh In art, and especially in literature, the record is by no means so one-sided, although here also the unmistakable pre-eminence of the Greeks and the largely derivative nature of Roman work are pronounced features of the cultural life of Rome throughout the Republican era

So marked was the brilliance of the Greeks and so poor by contrast the known achievements of all other peoples of antiquity, that inevitably the sudden flowering of the human spirit in ancient Athens has been thought to point to the existence of some special quality of their minds, to be explained, if it can be explained at all, on the basis of racial characteristics If this is true, then the Romans, who did not possess this quality, were by nature incapable of the unique effort put forth by the Greeks, and in consequence there is not much point in seeking other explanations of their admitted inferiority Their failure to progress in the one line above all others in which for us progress now seems to consist, would then be part of the nature of things and no more need be said 'Order, not progress was, as it still is, the mission of Rome ' It is not without interest, however, to note some factors arising from the Roman character, which delayed the emergence

of a scientific outlook upon the world Of these the Roman religion was undoubtedly one A view of the world which invented spirits to account for any and every normal or unusual occurrence was not one to advance a deeper knowledge of nature or of men Sickness and disease have everywhere been the first and most urgent stimulants to a better understanding of the physical world, but when every disease was supposed to be the work of a supernatural agency, inquiry was obviously stifled at birth 'Even the itch was not without its goddess' To placate and pacify the gods or demons who, they thought, were directly responsible for their pains, their fevers and their sickness, was therefore the first reaction of the Romans in illness and distress Unlike certain worthy folk in our own day who otherwise resemble them in adopting a purely religious attitude towards disease, they did not neglect drugs But their drugs were often more horrible than their diseases The more strange and far-fetched, the more revolting in taste or stench, the more eagerly were the remedies sought and swallowed. The superstitions which created so formidable a pharmacopoeia were also manifested in other directions Faith was put in votive offerings, in the interpretation of dreams, in holy wells and ceremonial washings There were ritual incantations, laying-on of hands, accompanied often by the repetition of antique formulae from long-forgotten languages devoid of any known signification, which were in fact no better than gibberish Names had a peculiarly satisfying effect, just as today patients often cannot be quieted until some label is found for their symptoms Great reliance was placed in magic numbers, mystic correspondence of marks and in the pronouncements of astrologers

Against this lumbering impediment, this sub-human heritage from the cave and the pit, man the thinker has waged and must continue to wage perpetual war For, even today, strong forces are still at work to prolong this martyrdom of man, to drag whole peoples down once more to the morass from which twenty-five centuries of stubborn struggle have barely freed them Because medicine was closely linked with religion, every *paterfamilias* was the medical officer of health as well as the high priest of his household He was in charge of the medicine chest which had an honoured place in the store cupboards over which presided the *Penates*, reverenced by the Romans as the spirits of the home

The religious powers of the father of the household left no

room for a large class of priests, neither did they permit the rise of a medical profession. It seems probable that the army made provision for medical and surgical treatment of its sick and wounded but nothing is known about whatever arrangements were made. The troops do not seem to have been served by specialists who might have become doctors in civil life. Great as have been the misfortunes which mankind can justly attribute to the ignorance, the conservatism and the vested interests of the professions of priest and doctor, it is evident that neither religious thought nor medicine could have progressed without them. Support for such a view seems at least to be available from the experience of the Romans. The fathers of the Republic in its heroic age would have nothing to do with Greek physicians, many of whom would have been willing to practise in Rome. Not until about 220 B.C., a little before the war with Hannibal, was there a Greek physician in Rome. He had few immediate followers. The traditional suspicion and dislike of the Greeks was sufficient to keep them away. Old Cato reasoned that the Greeks, who thought nothing of causing the death of a barbarian and who made no secret of the fact that in their eyes the Romans were among the barbarians, would speedily spread disease and death if they were allowed a foothold in the sacred city.

The Romans were the losers, for although the medical science of the Greeks was extremely scanty, they did not make the mistake of thinking superstition a substitute for it. They tried to look facts in the face and they studied their patients with calm but inquisitive detachment. They seem also to have arrived at the wisdom of relying as far as possible upon the unaided power of nature to effect cures. They sought to aid this *vis medicatrix naturae*, often the principal element in the prescription of many eminent practitioners of our own day, less by drugs than by gentler remedies of rest, simple diet, baths, and exercises. This in itself was no mean achievement. Slowly their superior insight gained them a surer welcome in Rome, despite Cato and his reliance upon the household remedies he had inherited from his grandparents and their forebears. Many of his recipes are useless, some can only be called indecent. The great reliance which he and his kind placed upon the cabbage seems one of their few notions with some scientific justification. The Italian winter is not as long as ours but it may still have been long enough to make it very

necessary to have a remedy against scurvy – caused, as we now know, by the lack of vitamin C. The cabbage, in an age which was ignorant of the potato, no doubt provided enough of that vitamin to correct deficiencies in the plain hard fare of the puritanical ancient Romans.

By Cicero's day the Greek physician, whether as a slave or freedman, occupied an important place in Roman private life and was frequently either very expensive to buy or highly rewarded when he was able to work for fees Cicero was not another Cato who considered himself fully competent to dose and cure his family He thought highly of his friend and doctor, Asclapo Recommending him to a friend, he said, 'I found his society very agreeable as well as his medical skill, which I had experience of in the illnesses of my household He gave me every satisfaction both by his knowledge of his profession and by his kindness' Cicero's own notions on how to keep well were mostly matter-of-fact common sense 'Individual health', he told his son, in his last work, *On Duty*, 'is preserved by studying one's own constitution, by observing what is good or bad for one, by constant self-control in supplying physical wants and comforts (but only to the extent necessary to self-preservation), by forgoing sensual pleasures, and finally, by the professional skill of those to whose science these matters belong' Sometimes Cicero took a less practical view of illness Finding himself suddenly freed by violent sickness from a persistent feeling of depression, he wrote to his wife, 'I was at once so much relieved, that I really think some god worked the cure. Pray make full and pious acknowledgement to the god, Apollo or Aesculapius, according to your wont' Perhaps he was doing no more than finding some outlet for the greater religious feelings of his wife at a crisis in their fortunes, for he had just left her on his way to join Pompey in the civil war against Caesar

Medical practitioners multiplied and thrived in Rome. Yet there was no professional training, no standard of qualification and consequently nothing to prevent plausible quacks setting themselves up as doctors The fate of many a wretched Roman must have been grim indeed when he became the helpless prey of some ignorant fellow possessed of no better qualifications for treating illness than conceit and impudence A far more efficacious treatment is now available for our farm and domestic animals

than the wealthiest Roman invalid could command in the most flourishing age of the Republic.

We are heirs to more ills than the Romans seem to have known, but there was misery and suffering enough calling aloud for any aid that Greek skill could render Consumption, typhus, dysentery, and amoebic infection seem to have been prevalent, and for them no cure was known Digestive diseases and gout were also widespread, particularly after the simple fare of the early Republicans had given way to the luxurious life of the well-to-do in the days of Cicero Some diseases which modern hygiene and medicine have succeeded in controlling and reducing almost to vanishing point were then rampant and destructive Anthrax, rabies, tetanus and the bubonic plague wrought havoc amongst a people ignorant alike of their cause and cure Unable to arrest their progress, the Romans must have seen them sweep through whole communities like a forest fire The Romans also saw the advance of malaria This insidious malady was probably a worse disaster to Italy than all her civil wars put together The ruin it had wrought in Greece probably goes far to explain the sickness which had already overcome the spirit of Hellas, for as early as the time of Plato and Aristotle the land had become widely and seriously malarious From the South of Italy, through Campania and the Latin plain the malady spread insistently throughout Italy During the war against Hannibal, in the year 208 B C, it is recorded that 'a serious epidemic attacked both the city and country districts, but it resulted more frequently in protracted than in fatal illness' It was very likely malaria The enfeebling character of the disease among adults is marked, but among children its ravages can be far more deadly The numbers as well as the strength and vigour of the people of Italy were probably seriously reduced by a high death-rate of children from malaria

The disease was worse in the country than in the better-drained towns When the fresh healthy country-bred families were smitten, that which should have been a source of strength to the Republic was turned into a source of weakness The Romans did not know, as indeed with all the resources of modern science we ourselves discovered only yesterday, that malaria is caused by the bite of an insect and that the insect is the anopheles mosquito They had however discovered that the mysterious disease was more likely to be caught near swampy ground Cicero's friend Varro cau-

tioned would-be farmers to choose a healthy site for their farm-house and never to build near swampy ground because, he said, 'certain minute animals, invisible to the eye, breed there and, borne by the air, reach the inside of the body by way of the mouth and nose and cause diseases which are difficult to be rid of.' This was the nearest any Roman came to guessing the germ theory of disease. Varro's opinion may have seemed as far-fetched to the Romans around Cicero as it did eighteen hundred years later to a learned German who, with the rash dogmatism of ignorance, asked, 'Am I to believe that Varro attributed lingering diseases to these small gnats? Never did any doctor ancient or modern make such an assertion.'

Land policy and public health, had the Romans but realized it, marched hand in hand. As smallholdings and a large peasant population gave way to large cattle ranches there was no longer the numerous labour force which used to look after the drainage and conservation of the soil. Marshes began to increase and with them came the mosquito. It would have been impossible to re-populate the deserted plains even had the landowning classes been prepared to sacrifice their holdings. Julius Caesar seems to have realized what was involved when he made plans for the proper drainage of the Campagna, a policy which was still waiting for Mussolini to undertake in our own day.

The Romans, deficient in theoretical speculation, were sound technicians and their surgery was, for an age so primitive in the scientific sense, by no means so contemptible as their medicine. Their military campaigns had no doubt provided an all too rich field for practice from the earliest years of the Republic. They operated for gall-stones and undertook trepanning. Anaesthetics were of course unknown, and in the course of their treatment Roman patients had ample opportunity to show the ancient Roman virtue of courage. But many diseases and disorders, such as appendicitis, which modern surgery can cure, then proved fatal to the Romans. (Plate 26b.)

General Science

The example set by the Greeks in such subjects as mathematics and geometry was barely understood, much less followed or developed by the Romans. During his service as Quaestor in

Sicily Cicero discovered in a neglected and overgrown cemetery the tomb of the great Greek mathematician and scientist Archimedes who had been murdered nearly 140 years earlier by a Roman legionary during the Roman campaign in Sicily in 212 B.C.

It is questionable whether Cicero was aware that the cylinder and sphere which marked the grave commemorated what Archimedes regarded as his most important discovery: the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of the circle. However that may be, there is small doubt that Cicero's countrymen cared as little for the discoveries of Archimedes as they did about his last resting-place. An 'Archimedean problem' was Cicero's name for an unsolvable perplexity. Yet by his time a succession of Greek thinkers had not merely laid the foundations, but had developed mathematics and astronomy to a degree that was not to be surpassed until the seventeenth century.

Judged by our own standards, in geography or geology, the Greek scientific achievement was undoubtedly slight. In medicine, biology, physics, and still more in chemistry, it was so insignificant that any comparison is ludicrous. Relatively small as was the achievement of the Greeks in these fields it was joined to a far deeper contribution to the study of politics, society and philosophy which first set the minds of men moving upon the road to knowledge. The Greeks, moreover, with their balanced, humanistic ideal of the development of the whole man, sought to advance upon all fronts at once without cramping and limiting their outlook on life by narrow specialization. Thus it was that they remained, throughout the Roman era and far beyond, the masters of those who know. Lucretius gives some measure of the comparative ignorance of the Romans. 'It is a hard task', he wrote, 'to set clearly in the light the dark discoveries of the Greeks, above all when many things must be treated in new words, because of the poverty of our tongue and the newness of the themes.'

Cicero generously acknowledged the debt of Rome. When his brother Quintus went as Roman governor (or propraetor) to Asia in 61 B.C., Cicero wrote him a long lecture on his duties to the Greeks – 'a race of men', he said, 'in which civilization not only exists but from whom it is believed to have spread to others.' He added this personal confession: 'Whatever I have accomplished, I have accomplished by means of those studies and principles which have been transmitted to us in Greek literature and

schools of thought, wherefore over and above the general good faith which is due to all men, I think we are in a special sense under an obligation to that nation to put into practice what it has taught us among the very men by whose maxims we have been brought out of barbarism ' Narrow national feeling clearly had not blinded Cicero's vision and regard for the truth as it had limited the outlook of the earlier generations of Romans whose spokesman was Cato the Censor

There could be no more convincing evidence of the reality and depth of Cicero's feeling of gratitude to the Greeks than the very intensity of effort he put forth to introduce Greek thought to his countrymen The long hours spent in reading in his library and the odd moments snatched as he was carried on his travels in a litter were matched by work at his desk before dawn, in the daytime and late at night as he strove to pass on in his own matchless Latin something of the inspiration he had found in the imperishable writings of those Greeks he was proud to acknowledge as his masters Not merely was Greek thought more widely popularized in Rome as a result of Cicero's devotion, but the accidents of time were to make his writings one of the main sources from which a few men in the dark ages of medieval Europe were first able to learn something of the wisdom of the ancient world and to gain some knowledge of the thought of Greece by which that wisdom had chiefly been inspired

Chapter Seventeen

THE COMMON PEOPLE

The Wretched Starveling Mob

THE developed and modern way of life of cultivated Roman society did not extend at all deeply. The voice of the common man and woman finds little or no echo in the pages of Cicero or of his contemporaries Such references as are made to them are rarely respectful, often contemptuous Millions of Romans and Italians around Cicero, peopling the soil of Italy, working in the fields, vineyards and olive plantations, crowding the market-places, marching to wars, laughing, cheering and yelling in the public circuses and theatres, jostling in the streets as they watched the triumphant processions of their victorious generals, have vanished, leaving no account of their daily lives, their loves, hates, hopes and fears

Although they made up the Roman Republic, their fate seems to have been of scant concern to the men who depended upon their votes for the privilege of ruling over them. Despite the fine stoic sentiments he was fond of uttering about the dignity and brotherhood of mankind, Cicero, the most urbane of men (to use a favourite word of his own invention), in his more intimate and candid moments called the masses the scum of the earth

Their condition was indeed unenviable What little we are able to piece together about the life of the common people of Rome shows a depressing picture of poverty and neglect Life, while it lasted, was supported at a minimum cost Their food was of the plainest – wheat porridge or simple wheat cakes flavoured, if at all, by a few herbs or vegetables and an occasional cheese, dried salt fish and olive oil Sugar was unknown and honey was probably beyond their means They did not drink milk, but cheap wine, mixed perhaps with water Coffee and tea were of course not known until eighteen hundred years later Meat they saw so rarely that masses of the Romans never seem to have acquired much taste for it On one of Caesar's campaigns it was apparently accounted a hardship when Roman soldiers were forced to eat meat because their corn supplies had been exhausted A little

higher in the social scale, however, there was more meat-eating, mainly of pork Poultry was also available for the better-off classes

The needy Roman citizen was, however, assured of free water and cheap corn From 58 B C to 46 B C corn was supplied free to all Roman citizens who cared to go to get it A public water supply has never been thought to make men less inclined to work for their own support But free bread raises different emotions, and any suggestion of it has always met violent opposition Roman experience is very often quoted in evidence of the evils to which it may be expected to lead 'Bread and circus-races' has become a by-word in referring to the degeneracy and corruption of the Roman proletariat But it has been suggested above that cheap or free bread was not so much the cause of the rot in Roman life as merely one of its symptoms Cicero did not object to a well-managed corn supply If it was not likely to exhaust the Treasury, he thought it 'both practicable for the State and necessary for the common man a blessing therefore both to the citizens and the State'

The violence and unrest which made life in Rome so unpleasant for Cicero were certainly not caused by free corn doles All alike were symptoms of a great evil calling aloud for firm treatment The corn dole naturally did not improve matters and it alone became a serious financial problem No doubt it was for this reason that Cicero referred to the masses of Rome as 'the wretched starveling mob, the bloodsucker of the Treasury' Leeches they were indeed, but it must not be forgotten that the hand that applied them to the body politic of Rome was that of Caesar's agent, Clodius. Was it a deliberate move to drain the Treasury so that Caesar's senatorial opponents should find themselves without the wherewithal to equip armies against Caesar? Whether so intended or not, the free corn policy undoubtedly added heavily to the embarrassments of the Senate

The shattered condition of public affairs was such that when Caesar eventually fought his way through chaos to supreme control of the Republic he reaped the whirlwind he had himself stirred up, and among many other worries he inherited the unpleasant responsibility of finding grain for about two-thirds of the free population of the city of Rome. This probably required about 300 tons out of the 500 tons of wheat needed to feed the

population every day. Suddenly to reduce this tremendous outlay was an unpleasant task, and the man who undertook it obviously had to be sure of his own position. Caesar in 46 B.C. was the first man to have achieved such security since the retirement of Sulla in 79 B.C. He dared not do what Sulla had done and abolish the dole, but he cut down the names on the free list for corn to 150,000 – eloquent testimony to the shallowness of the devices by which, as leader of the *populares*, he rose to power. In this way he was able to halve the annual cost to the Treasury of 72 million sesterces on the corn dole. The free corn policy had been Caesar's in opposition. He did not intend it to be more than a means of gaining power. No doubt he then realized that unless the supply of free wheat in Rome was drastically reduced, his policy of large-scale emigration for Rome's unemployed would be all the more difficult to achieve.

The great mass of the poor had nothing resembling the home over which Cicero waxed so eloquent when on his return from exile he claimed compensation for the destruction of his fine house. There, he said, had been his household gods and the family divinities of his hearth, and what could be more holy or more fitting a subject for religious respect than the house of a Roman citizen? However florid and artificial his language seems to our ear, and however convincing it no doubt was to thousands of Roman householders, it must have sounded somewhat hollow to the thousands of destitute Romans whose home was at the best some mean room in one of the many-storied lodging-houses crowded together in the depressions between the hills which were reserved for the better homes. To build within the protecting walls of Rome the Romans were forced to run the tenements as high as they dared. There the masses were huddled together, many without heat, water, or adequate light, often lucky if they were able to retain a roof over their heads, for there were frequent collapses of some of the crazy structures, and others often caught fire. Free corn may well have meant the difference between life and death from starvation to many of the poverty-stricken inhabitants of Rome's teeming tenements. No wonder therefore that the management of the public wheat was high up on the list of burning political questions.

Of course not all the citizens and electors of Rome were on the margin of starvation. There were grades among the totally un-

employed Some would be clients of the well-to-do, paying an obsequious call every morning which, for the price of servility to the rich man's door-keepers and personal servants, might yield a coin or two to satisfy their landlord, as well as a few scraps of food Among this crowd would be many former slaves who had been given their freedom Within one generation, in Cicero's lifetime between 81 B C and 49 B C , it has been estimated that half a million slaves were freed and let loose in Rome There was therefore a vast recruiting-ground for private bands of thugs and bullies Most poor Romans were probably not unemployed but made up the hard-working artisans and shopkeepers who kept alive the free commerce and industry of the city bakers who were also the millers, leather workers, shoemakers, fullers who were the only laundrymen and dyers, as well as makers of cheap clothes – for the old days were long past when every Roman girl and woman from the highest to the lowest spent hours spinning and weaving There must also have been thousands of porters and carriers The Roman masses, like the masses in all ages, worked largely for each other, no doubt on very slender margins of profit The rich provided so much for themselves by the work of their slaves that the small artisan, unless he was an exceptionally skilled worker or engaged in some luxury trade like jewellery, did not have wealthy clients The average Roman could truly have been called 'the man in the street'. For the masses escaped from their cramped, dirty and inconvenient homes as often as they could by living on the street and in the Forum There was no Sunday or 'week-end' but there were about one hundred public holidays every year Hence the demand for public games, the 'circus-races' Because these events provided the one staple means of temporary escape from the sordid realities of daily life, they were immensely popular and filled much more of the waking thoughts of the average Roman than we can now easily imagine The crowded, cheap public baths that were to form a second relief from the boredom and tedium of poverty had not attained their full development during the Republic, but already in Cicero's lifetime they were becoming popular Open from sunrise to sunset at a very low fee, they provided a public resort and meeting-place of a type unknown to dwellers in our modern cities Daily life on this level was not likely to breed conservative opinions in politics

Over all these struggling folk hung the constant fear of great discomfort from bad seasons, a cold winter, drenching rain or torrid summer heat, as well as the more serious menace of sudden catastrophe: illness, loss of a patron, robbery and violence against which there was no police protection, sudden collapse of the market, failure of the free wheat, as well as less frequent but by no means unknown risks of the collapse of their crazy tenements or their destruction by fire, against which also there was no public fire brigade to fight for them. Among Cicero's property were some shops, two of which had entirely collapsed, and the rest seemed likely soon to follow them. He regarded the matter with what he considered philosophic detachment, refused to be annoyed and jokingly remarked that not the tenants alone but the very mice had migrated.

Shops below, crowded tenements above, narrow busy streets, were the setting for the feverish life of the city. Parts of it devoted to public affairs had a dignity and spaciousness contrasting all the more vividly with the squalor and uneasiness of the poorer quarters. They had one source of satisfaction denied to the dwellers in most of our industrial towns. The sight of some of the temples, public buildings, statuary and memorial buildings was free of cost to all whose eye delighted in beauty. But the Roman people were to benefit more in this respect from rulers who came after Cicero and Caesar than they had ever done under the Republic. The 'puritan tradition' of the Roman Republic is seen in Cicero's opinion that the expenditure of public money was justified 'when it is made for walls, docks, aqueducts, harbours, and all those works which are of service to the community'. But, despite his friend Pompey's initiative in providing new public buildings, Cicero confessed at the end of his life to doubts about the propriety of building 'theatres, colonnades and new temples'.

The cost of living for the poorer classes was very low. Vegetables, a little cheese, some dried salt fish, dried beans and olive oil were a cheap addition to the free or low-priced public wheat. The cheaper grades of wine mixed with water furnished a very popular and inexpensive drink.

In this way the masses struggled to keep body and soul together, although on a style of life that seems miserable enough to us today, if we could forget the years in Europe after 1940 when hundreds of thousands were forced by the miseries of war and in-

vasion to reduce their level of consumption even below that of the dregs of society in ancient Rome

Low State of Public Health

Little enough is known about the more serious epidemic diseases of Rome, still less has survived from which it would be possible to get a reliable picture of the general level of public health It is difficult to believe that it was good The low state of medical knowledge and above all ignorance of the elements of hygiene combine to forbid optimism on the subject The mere lack of soap alone must have been an immense disadvantage Handicapped in the effort to clean dirt from their bodies and their clothes, they were equally hard put to it to clear the dirt, refuse and sewage from their dwellings, their towns and cities Everyone in Rome was vulnerable to dirt and disease, some classes were more affected than the rest Ignorance of the way to avoid maladies arising from the various trades and industrial processes undoubtedly carried off thousands of Romans at an early age Some occupations were so notoriously unhealthy that they were reserved for criminals and slaves Such were the metal mines Before any mechanical aids in ventilating and draining were invented, work in quarries and in underground mines was necessarily particularly dangerous Explosives were unknown, so that the only method of shifting huge rocks and stones was to crack them by lighting great fires The heat and fumes of the fires, apart from any poisonous gases they might create by acting on metal ores, were alone a sufficient hazard Lead workers and sulphur workers were also dangerously exposed and their expectation of life was small So also was that of workers in stone and marble Silicosis, against which it has not yet been found possible to protect workers completely, found them defenceless

Trades which would not now be regarded as dangerous then held many risks The peculiar processes of the fullers have been mentioned Their work in confined small rooms must have been extremely unpleasant from the smells and from the possibly infected nature both of their materials and of the clothes they had to clean To be exposed to burning sulphur, as they were in their bleaching processes, was an additional danger

There were more offensive trades than the fullers', particularly

that of the tanners and leather-makers, and efforts were made to segregate them beyond the Tiber. Candle-makers and oilmen, whose oil came from olives, no doubt also deserved to be included in this class.

The millers and bakers had a less pleasant occupation than they mostly have today. Nearly 200,000 tons of wheat consumed in Rome every year had to be carried at some stage in sacks on the workers' backs. To this exhausting toil must be added the hard work of grinding corn by hand in the days before water-mills and windmills were common. No true Roman would endure to see his wife at a grinding-mill. The threat of being sent to work at grinding corn was sufficient to make most slaves tremble. Covered in perspiration and flour, the millers and bakehouse workers needed frequent baths which it is very questionable whether many were able to get. The unpleasant association of lice with the milling and baking trade endured long enough in Italy to make it probable that it also existed in Cicero's Rome. Before the public-bath habit became regular, the resources of such citizens as believed in cleanliness was a daily wash of the arms and legs and a weekly bath in the scullery. It was a possibility open to few of the poorer tradesmen and to fewer still of the more numerous slaves.

It has taken a new form of warfare to bring home to the city-dwellers of today what they owe to modern sanitation and to supplies of water, soap, gas and electricity. Not until such services, formerly taken for granted, are suddenly interrupted or destroyed, does their vital link with civilization become evident. In ancient Rome there was of course neither gas nor electricity. Sanitary services left much to be desired, none of the appliances to which we are accustomed had then been invented.

It is important, therefore, not to assume that life in Republican Rome had anything like a modern physical background. Our standards of public health and cleanliness are on a vastly better scale.

Just as we are apt to forget the low standards of public health and cleanliness in Rome, so in this age of machines it is difficult to realize what life was like when all work had to be done by human muscles aided to some extent by the help of animals. Not merely the loading, unloading and distribution of the tremendous tonnage of food and supplies but all forms of manufacturing and

construction depended upon the physical strength of the men of Rome What that means in carpentry and woodwork alone is sufficiently obvious when it is realized how much hard work is involved in the various processes between felling a tree and the production by hand of the planed and polished woodwork required in furniture and building

The sheer physical burden of all this toil, apparent in the strained muscles, arteries and hearts of the labouring classes, their premature ageing and death, would have been a melancholy commentary upon the pleasing delusion of some contemporary moralists that nobody has ever been killed by overwork Death, when it came, increased the hazards of the survivors Burial was indeed forbidden within the precincts of the city, but immediately beyond were the vast common graves into which the dead bodies of the poor were thrown indiscriminately at night In their funeral customs the Romans further sharpened the contrast between rich and poor The magnificent torchlight processions accompanying the funeral train of the rich and powerful, the musicians, the mourning women, and above all the men impersonating the deceased's ancestors, on their way to the magnificent tombs lining the wayside on the main approaches to the city, all threw into sharp relief the social gulf between the best people and the dregs of the city

This would not be the only shock for us if we could visit Cicero's Rome We should find it crowded, noisy, dirty, with unusual and forbidding stenches, swarming with vast crowds of people, many of whom would seem almost sub-human types marked by disease, mental deficiency, malformation and mutilation, and all under the threat of sudden death The general impression of Rome might well have been sickening, even frightening Very little of the glib cynicism which amuses itself by throwing doubt upon the reality of modern material progress would be likely to survive such an experience

When the masses lived or rather existed in such conditions, it is not surprising to learn that no provision was made for educating them By Cicero's time also, compulsory army service had begun to be of less importance to the State than the professional army, so the average Romans missed this opportunity of being taken out of their sordid surroundings and being given some form of organized training The growing race of slaves and descendants of

slaves in any case would never have had this experience of corporate life and discipline in the service of a great cause They were therefore entirely and, for an imperial race with responsibilities towards a vast subject world, shamefully ignorant, neglected and uncontrolled Not benefiting, as did the Romans of the heroic age, from a firm family and social discipline, not the bearers of that high tradition of self-control, self-discipline and devotion to public duty, they were but poor stuff Yet into their unskilled and incompetent hands was committed the great heritage of the golden age of the Republic

If, as Samuel Johnson believed, one test of a civilization is the way in which it treats its poor, it is indeed difficult to take a rosy view of the quality of life in the Roman Republic There are other measures of the relative standard of material civilization in different countries. In modern times it has been well said that the average expectation of life is one good measure It is a figure which varies today from less than thirty years of life in India to nearly seventy years in New Zealand The lack of adequate actuarial statistics in the ancient world, where life assurance was an unknown science, makes it impossible to apply this modern test to Ancient Rome

The Organization of Labour

In the heroic age of the Republic the citizen army of Rome acted as a strong unifying force welding together Roman manhood in common experiences and common exertions in the face of common dangers Many a time during an arduous campaign the whole army became a vast labour battalion building stockades, digging huge ditches and erecting great earthworks which would dominate the walls of a besieged town and serve as a mount for the battering rams and other military gear

The army was the Republic in action The habit of corporate effort which it fostered was reflected in the guilds or co-operative bodies found at an early date in nearly all the separate crafts in which Roman workers engaged These guilds or corporations of workmen bear no resemblance to modern trade unions, because they do not seem to have been organized with any special economic aims in view such as to raise wages, to improve working conditions or to shorten the hours of labour They were not

bargaining weapons in an economic class war It would be misleading to apply this modern notion to a society inheriting strong traditions about class privileges and run very largely on slave labour It would be truer to regard them as benefit or friendly societies, but their aims were limited, for they provided their members with little more than burial expenses and an occasional commemorative dinner

Their real purpose was, or had been, religious to bring their members together before some common shrine. All paid special veneration to the temple of Ceres on the Aventine hill of Rome but later they probably helped to spread the new Eastern religions brought to Rome by slaves

To a people condemned, as most free Romans of the poorer class were, to a life of hard toil for very small wages and with very little hope of earning more, their guilds must have provided some warmth of fellow feeling and some substitute for the lack of a satisfying personal religion. The members of these guilds, assembled together at a modest feast provided by one of their number in a generous mood or by the interest on an endowment bequeathed to the guild by a deceased member, would for a brief moment experience something of the strengthening influence of human solidarity and feel that they were not entirely alone and friendless in a hard and hostile world They must have needed all the consolation they could get in this way because it was no part of the Roman idea of duty, still less of Roman religion, to believe that the State ought to come to the aid of the poor and needy Hospitals, lunatic asylums and almshouses were unknown The free corn dole of the later Republic was given only to citizens, and great numbers of the inhabitants of Rome were not proud possessors of this right Apart from this very modest form of assistance there was no public relief for homeless, destitute Roman citizens and certainly none therefore for anyone else

Cicero could however write that it should 'be the duty of those who direct the affairs of the State to take steps to see that there shall be an abundance of the necessities of life' Such a general counsel of perfection could not be carried very far into practice because of the sheer lack of adequate administrative machinery to manage the business it would have involved It would of course be exhibiting a complete lack of historical understanding to criticize the Romans for not having discovered that principle

of planned, State-managed social services provided largely by nationally administered insurance schemes which is a feature, still by no means unanimously welcomed, of twentieth-century England.

What Plato in a well-known passage says about the fate of a workman in Athens overtaken by illness was no doubt just as true for great numbers of the Roman poor also.

> When a carpenter is ill he asks his doctor to give him an emetic or a purge to expel the trouble or to rid him of it by cautery or the knife. But if he is advised to take a long course of treatment, to keep his head wrapped up and all that sort of thing, he soon replies that he has not time to be ill and goes back to his ordinary way of life Then he either regains his health and lives to go about his proper business, or if his body is not equal to the strain, gets rid of his troubles by dying That is the right attitude towards medicine for a man of his class

The application of this doctrine was not confined to the poor. 'Each one,' said Cicero, 'must bear his own burden of distress rather than rob a neighbour of his rights' There could hardly have been any other doctrine in a predominantly agricultural community recognizing the possession of private property as a primary, sacred right Cicero himself repeated, in his last work, *De Officiis*, the opinion of a philosopher of Rhodes, that 'the private fortunes of individuals are the wealth of the State' Everyone had his duty, therefore, to maintain and increase his own wealth, although not by unjust and unfair practices The State had the duty of safeguarding and protecting private rights and therefore private property Men ought however to use their wealth with care. Cicero singles out for special approval the duty of ransoming prisoners and relieving the poor These, he said, are forms of charity that are of service to the State

So poor Romans in distress had to rely upon relations and neighbours, as the poor have mostly had to do throughout the history of mankind It must not be imagined that they looked in vain for aid The Stoic doctrine of the brotherhood of man was becoming known, and Cicero did much to gain adherents for it In its name Cicero denounced those 'who say they will not rob a parent or brother for their own gain but that their relation to the rest of their fellow citizens is quite another thing' To deny that one is bound to one's fellow citizens by mutual obligations, social ties or common interests, would, said Cicero, 'demolish the

whole structure of civil society' Noble sentiments such as these shared the fate of similar noble sentiments in all ages in being imperfectly translated into practice There seems on the whole to have been remarkably little corporate activity or organization for mutual aid against the normal accidents of life in the Roman Republic apart from the guilds, and it seems evident that they never went far

Later in their development, probably in the year before Cicero became Consul (i e. 64 B C), some of the workers' guilds or brotherhoods seem to have begun to develop political interests They were then banned by the Senate, which would not allow the party of the *populares* to gain such a potential organized support

Cicero's enemy, Clodius, as might have been expected, did his best to revive them and to harness them to the cause of Julius Caesar a few years later. That they continued to be a vexation is shown by a decree of the Senate in 56 B C which Cicero mentions 'That political clubs and associations should be broken up and that a law in regard to them should be brought in, enacting that those who did not break off from them should be liable to the same penalty as those convicted of riot' With the lack of responsibility of a true demagogue, Clodius, drunk with a sense of power, was evidently indulging in political excitement much too wildly for his backers Apart from the exploits of Clodius, however, there is insufficient evidence to show whether the civil commotions in Rome were the work of organized societies of workmen, or if these societies in a body took any considerable part in them Indirect testimony to their nuisance value in political life may be seen in the action of Julius Caesar, who, as soon as he achieved undisputed mastery, abolished all except the oldest and most respectable clubs Other successful politicians in all ages have shown, with a cynicism like Caesar's, that ladders up which they climbed to power can be kicked away as soon as a dominating position has been reached

Low Social Status of Workers in Industry and Trade

Farming and fighting were the two occupations of ordinary men upon which immemorial Roman tradition had set the seal of respectability Other ways of earning a living might become

increasingly important but they did not attain the same prestige.

Cicero made plain the traditional attitude in a well-known passage in one of his best-known books, *On Duty* (*De Officiis*). In it he condemned all incomes which could only be earned at the cost of public revulsion and dislike, mentioning tax-gathering and money-lending as examples. It is not very surprising that he shared with Plato and Aristotle the opinion that labourers working for money are disreputable. Their work he thought degrading and their wages a badge of servitude. 'All mechnical labourers are by their profession mean, for no workshop is a place for a gentleman.' 'We are likewise to despise', he goes on, 'all who retail goods from merchants for prompt sale, for they would make no profits unless they lie abominably.' The least respectable of all, according to him, were 'those trades which cater for sensual pleasures', among which he listed fishmongers, poulterers, butchers and cooks. Such traditional snobbishness was, to say the least, ungrateful, for never before in the whole history of the Republic had Romans given themselves up with less restraint to the enjoyment of the pleasures of eating and drinking. It was as though they sought to compensate their own diminished self-respect by affecting to despise the means of their selfish indulgence. A somewhat similar attitude was noticeable in some sections of Victorian England to 'mere traders' and mechanics. It was necessary for any member of such classes to receive the label 'respectable' or 'very respectable' before 'the gentry' could publicly avow much social contact with them.

Our Victorian ancestors were without the excuse which Cicero had, that in his time the rich employed slaves for such work in their own households. Again therefore the pernicious system of slavery degraded the personal worth of a free labourer to much the same level as that of a slave. Did not both do the same kind of job? As Aristotle had pointed out, the free labourer was worse off than the slave who 'shared in his master's life'. In Rome there was little distinction between a slave cook and a free cook, particularly as the latter probably worked for a very small margin of profit. Great numbers of free workers were moreover ex-slaves or freedmen or their descendants. Cicero, who, no doubt for such reasons, could write so slightingly of the workers who contributed to the comfort of his own and other Roman households, yet

realized well enough his debt to them and to their predecessors He did not, in so many words, call attention to that division of labour in society which Adam Smith was first to emphasize as the foundation of the economic prosperity of nations, but he came very near it when he called attention, with many examples, to the evident facts that 'without the association of men, cities could not have been built or peopled' and that 'by giving and receiving, by mutual exchange of commodities and conveniences, we succeed in meeting all our wants'

Poor Reputation of Business Men and Financiers

Trade on a large scale enjoyed much better esteem in Cicero's eyes It could be undertaken only by men owning a considerable capital, and such men Cicero had always treated with consideration From them much of his own wealth was derived in the shape of gifts and legacies Yet Cicero's words lack warmth 'Merchandising on a small scale', he said, 'is mean, but if it is extensive and rich, bringing in a variety of goods from all corners of the earth and providing large numbers with a livelihood, it is not so despicable ' The most he would say in its praise was that it 'even seems to deserve the highest respect if those who are engaged in it, satiated or satisfied with the fortunes they have made, make their way from the port to a country estate'

There was a great social gulf between the small craftsman in his tiny booth or shop and the wealthy business man The one would be little more than a slave in the eyes of Cicero and his aristocratic friends, except on election days when Roman citizens, however poor, might give their votes on new laws or for new magistrates The other, enrolled among the class of *equites*, had a special social standing of his own He was not indeed able to aspire to a seat in the Senate since he would not normally forsake a financially profitable career to seek election to high political office which alone normally provided automatic admission to the Senate He might be selected for enrolment as a Senator by the Censor, but such a distinction would have been exceptional. In the last century of the Republic Gaius Gracchus gave the *equites* the righ[t] [to] become jurymen, better described perhaps as judges or asse[s]sors in the law courts. This was a privilege they had long sough[t] to enable them to influence trials of a commercial or busine[ss]

nature Their social position was also improving They were accepted as friends and guests at the dinner parties of liberal-minded public men Cicero, whose father was one of them, could not have been so stand-offish as to find anything unusual in that Senatorial and aristocratic families in financial difficulties had for long found it useful to arrange marriage contracts for their own children with the sons or daughters of wealthy *equites*. For all his somewhat distant words about them, it is plain that Cicero frequently exerted himself on behalf of his business friends and clients His own most intimate and trusted friend Atticus was a member of this class They had been educated together Cicero relied upon him for help and advice more than he did upon his own brother Quintus Cicero who married Pomponia, the bad-tempered sister of Atticus (p 296) Despite their wealth and, no doubt, their self-importance, the business men never became an important force in Roman politics Success in industry, business or commerce was never an avenue to political influence and well-organized political pressure groups or lobbies of business interests were quite unknown

In marked contrast to the business men and aristocrats, the common people of Rome had little or no possibility of enlarging their experience, developing their personalities or expanding their minds They may, together with humanity throughout the ages, be credited with this urge to realize something of the promise of the spirit of man Not capable perhaps of great progress, they may instinctively have sought to achieve that better self, of which, like all men, they were capable If this is so, anyone who seemed able to make good a promise of the smallest enlargement of their narrow circumstances and stunted lives would then inevitably have had their support If, in addition, he was a man of tact, charm, high achievement and great eminence, he might indeed count upon their devotion

Julius Caesar alone won this outstanding position After consolidating his personal fortunes and securing an impregnable position for himself, which he achieved with little regard for others, there remained the crying need to restore order and stability to the sorely tried country But he had spent himself in his long fight for power His time was too short To halt the decline into anarchy for a year or two, which is all he was able to do, was not progress

Personal Religion of the Romans

What religion can mean to mankind often remains a personal secret, and we shall probably never succeed in understanding the religious experience of the Roman people At no time had the Roman religion much to say about the human soul Theirs was neither a very profound nor an intellectually satisfying religion, but it provided practical observances for all the normal occasions of life and so seemed to bring some outlet and some aid and comfort in all perplexities It therefore suited the matter-of-fact, hard-working Roman farmer To such country folk the earth was filled with forces (*numina*) whose wishes had to be respected and whose wills had to be propitiated by proper observances and sacrifices Every place had its own spirit. Those supposed to guard the family hearth (*Vesta*) and the family stores of food and necessaries (*di Penates*) were specially reverenced The Vestal Virgins who ministered to the spirit of Vesta, protectress of the city, in her circular temple in the heart of the Forum always kept an honoured position in Roman life There were also spirits of the woods, groves, mountains, springs and floods At the worst such supernatural influences merely filled them with superstitious, irrational fears At best they may have inspired a Wordsworthian sense of deep-seated awe, but of this there is little evidence, for the Roman attitude does not in the main seem to have been spiritual reverence for what is 'holy' in the sense, for example, described by a religious thinker of modern times with the Roman word 'numinous' The average Roman's religious observances, if he indulged in any, centred around the details of the cult as such Little curiosity was shown in the reasons for, or the object of, the cult, which had the practical aim of getting some material benefit or to avoid some threatening danger or calamity

Every rustic labourer in field and vineyard unquestioningly joined in the many ritual observances accompanying all the activities of the farming year Some special festivals stood out, chief of which were the *Saturnalia* or sowing, the *Robigalia* to ward off blight and mildew, and the *Consualia* on storing the harvest

Such observances were duties spontaneously undertaken in every farming household Their performance did not depend upon the ministrations of any organized priestly body. Public religion in

the sense of temple worship and an active professional priesthood never had much importance in Roman eyes, and by Cicero's time they were scarcely heeded at all. At home, however, things had always been different. Every old Roman home was also a chapel. Daily ministrations at the household shrine had been a duty to the gods and a privilege of true Roman citizens. No plebeian or slave was capable of conducting these rites. Hence the rigid class distinction and the early attempt to bar marriage between the two orders, patrician and plebeian.

Every house had its own shrine dedicated to the *di Penates*, spirits of the store cupboards, and to the *Lar*, spirit of the fields, whose worship in the house the Romans shared with their slaves. The *Lar* was represented by a little figure in a niche in the wall, carefully tended and often decorated with flowers. Every house had its altar or hearth upon which burned the sacred fire. Old rites demanded prayers and devotions before it at least twice a day. The fire was not extinguished save on the New Year's Day of the old Romans, the first of March, and it was forthwith relit by the father of the house in the presence of his whole family. Because the sacred fire had to be kept alight, the Roman home could not be left unattended for a single day. Desecration of his altar and hearth was the supreme calamity for a Roman. To fight 'for hearth and altar' meant that everything was at stake. Little of this intimate communion with the spirits of the past survived in the crowded urban conglomeration of Rome. (Plate 25a.)

The care of the family grave and the cult of the family dead, the *di Parentes*, like that of the whole great community of Roman dead, the *di Manes*, was not a form of worship so much as the expression of reverence and fear. Allied with such domestic devotions was the respect, amounting to worship, of the spirit or *genius* of the head of the family, the *paterfamilias*. The idea of the *genius* neither implied divine origin nor gave any promise of immortality, but it symbolized the continuity of family life and, in earlier times, the perpetuation of the family ties with the wider clan or *gens* with which it had been connected. (Plates 23, 24b.)

The traditional personal religion of the Romans did not at any time offer the inspiration and guide to conduct in daily life such as the East was already receiving from Buddhism, or such as later ages in the West were to derive from Christianity. The high moral code of the best age of the Roman Republic embodied

what later generations venerated as the habits of their ancestors (*mos maiorum*) It was against this standard that they were able in some degree to measure their own conduct and that of their contemporaries A well-developed community spirit, combined with a genuine respect for justice and animated by courage and self-sacrifice, formed the core of a Roman's practical creed It was sufficient in the earlier conditions of life, but as the city and its dependent Empire grew vast, the sense of community of interest was unable any longer to sustain the tremendous new burdens or to preserve the old Roman way of life against the continual invasion of floods of newcomers

The rich, with homes of their own and their closed society, could no doubt provide themselves with elegant *Lares* and *Penates*, and for ceremonial rather than truly religious reasons they kept alive the observances attending marriage, birth, coming-of-age and death But myriads of the poor had neither hearth nor altar The great Dictator, Sulla, at the outset of his career, is said to have lived without either in a cheap apartment Lacking the occasion and the means for taking part in any religious ceremony, the common people had nothing to take them out of themselves and their sordid surroundings or to lead them to think about the grand questions of life, death, time and the destiny of mankind

When their world began to go to pieces in civil strife, the Romans lost faith in their own firm strength of purpose, the old Roman *virtus*, and thought of themselves as the sport of blind Fate, whom they sought to evade or propitiate by paying increasing reverence to *Fortuna*, Goddess of Chance

Public Religion

Although the Romans had already taken the decisive step of linking religion with the State, there was nothing in the Republic like the churches of our present-day organized religion, nor our one day in the week set aside for divine service It is true that the many public holidays (a hundred a year in Cicero's day) often had some religious origin, but the fact was neither always remembered nor observed In primitive times the worship of gods in human shape did not form part of the old Roman religion, which was preoccupied with the mystic forces of nature Such, for example, were Janus, God of the beginning of activities (hence

January), and Consus, God of the ending of activities (hence the festivals of the stored harvest on 21 August and of the end of the old year on 15 December, both known as the *Consualia*) Influenced, however, first by the Etruscans, the Romans began to give their ancient tribal gods human form in terracotta The worship of these figures at Rome was soon swamped by the invasion of many others derived from the Greeks The Romans learned the names of their deities from the lumbering verses of old Ennius

> *Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,*
> *Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo*

These were Jupiter, the Supreme God, Juno, goddess of married life, Minerva, patroness of Science, Art and Learning and hence of the trade guilds (of which her temple on the Aventine was the centre), Vesta (Protectress of the Domestic Hearth and of the Hearth of the City), Apollo (the God of Healing), Diana (the Moon Goddess), Venus (Goddess of Love and Beauty), Ceres the Earth Mother (Goddess of Corn and Agriculture), Mars (God of War), Neptune (Lord of the Sea), Vulcan (God of Fire) and Mercury (God of Trade and Commerce) To these principal deities a whole host of others was added from time to time and from place to place Observances were also paid to what may be called the personification of actions and of moral qualities

It was as though the Romans paid homage to the mysterious forces of nature apparent to them in the earth, in fire, in mildew and blight, forces which seemed the embodiment of a will-power (*numen*) not at first supposed to spring from any person or divine being but existing in its own supernatural right Similar awe attached to such places as the entry to a city or a house (of which Janus became the guarding spirit) Not surprisingly in an overcrowded land of smallholders, frontier markings and boundary stones also had their spirits This tendency to reverence moral qualities and forces persisted, and it is seen in the temples and sacrifices offered to Courage (*Virtus*), Honour (*Honos*), Good Faith (*Fides*), Hope (*Spes*), Modesty (*Pudicitia*), Fortune (*Fortuna*), Victory (*Victoria*), Peace (*Pax*) and others

The two aspects of the religious veneration of the Romans, these impersonal forces and the later personal gods and goddesses, characterized the older cults which before Cicero's day had been

changed by a great influx of new practices and new deities, for one result of Rome's many conquests up to the time of the Punic Wars was the bringing to Rome of strange gods, many of them from surrounding cities. Possibly to avert the wrath of those gods whose cities and temples they had despoiled, the Romans offered them hospitality within their own walls. The more there were, the safer the Romans seem to have felt. Great importance was attached towards the end of the Second Punic War in 204 B.C. to the transference from Phrygia, the fabled home of the Roman people, of a goddess known as Cybele, or the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*), and her installation in Rome was attended by scenes of wild enthusiasm. The goddess was accompanied by priests whose inhuman frenzies and weird rites soon created so great a scandal that the puritanical city fathers forbade Romans to join them. Public enthusiasm was diverted instead into annual Games, the *Megalensia*, in honour of the new deity of whom but little is subsequently heard.

Wars in the Eastern Mediterranean subsequently introduced other cults into the city. The wealth brought by foreign conquests also had the effect of greatly increasing the lavishness, the splendour, and the display connected with religious observances. The old primitive simplicity was giving way to spectacular ceremonies, to games and to banquets. At the same time decidedly less healthy influences made headway and there was a great increase in dubious mysticisms, soothsayers, sign-readers and professors of the occult. The new materialistic culture, fed so lushly on the spoils of foreign conquest, had less and less place for the old simple pieties of the early Romans. Religion, which had always been associated with public and private law, increasingly became one of the departments of State with appointment to the priestly offices as a matter of public election, just as the Quaestors, Aediles, Praetors and Consuls were elected by the people. Candidates came forward moved by their personal ambition for place and power, not by any genuine religious feeling, so the elections went on with an increasing accompaniment of canvassing, bribery and corruption. The fact that Julius Caesar, at the age of thirty-seven, a notorious political schemer and man-about-town, could become the Chief Priest or *Pontifex Maximus* by popular election shows how deep-seated was the rot. Public worship could not survive in such an atmosphere, neither could it possibly

have coped with the multiplication of cults and ceremonies. Roman piety was correspondingly weakened although it was never entirely driven out of Roman homes, particularly in the homes farthest from the contamination of the great city.

Yet the conventional language of respect towards the supernatural was preserved. Cicero larded his public orations with deferential references to the religious ceremonies and observances of the Republic and he complimented his country indirectly by expressions of gratitude for the divine favours upon which the greatness of Rome was supposed to rest. His letters also had little religious tags: 'may the Gods avert', 'through the favour of the Gods', 'may the Gods approve', but perhaps they meant less to him than the initials D.V. often did to our Victorian ancestors. In any event, the decay of public religion seems to have gone far by Cicero's time. The very temples were falling into decay and no public money was devoted to their restoration. Many of the gods and goddesses of earlier times had been so far forgotten that industrious antiquarians like Cicero's friend, the scholar Varro, could discover nothing about them. Lucretius denounced contemporary idolatries with bitter scorn. Cicero was therefore by no means alone in having a difficult task when he tried to find his own way through the mass of nondescript deities available for Roman adulation. He endeavoured to clear his own mind and to help his countrymen to a better view of the question in his book *Of the Nature of the Gods*. In it he poured scorn on many 'puerile tales' to be found about such beings and he condemned authors who had 'mustered up a numerous band of unknown gods, so unknown that we are not able to form any idea about them'. Apart from such obvious absurdities he held that 'the superior and excellent nature of the Gods', in whom he believed because everybody else had done, 'required a pious adoration from men because it is possessed of immortality and the most exalted felicity'. In writing in this fashion Cicero seems to have been prescribing for others, rather than for himself.

As far as can be judged from his letters, the nature of the gods was not a problem which had ever caused him much concern in the practical business of everyday life. There was no Victorian Sunday in the Roman calendar, and politicians were much more likely to acquire a bad reputation by being absent from the Games than from the Temple of Jupiter. The notion that religion

should be allowed to interfere with private life, let alone mould and guide every action, would have appeared just as quaint to many a sophisticated Roman as it now seems to be to his modern counterpart Nevertheless, some notions were too deeply ingrained to be easily lost Jupiter, Father of Heaven, Light-giver and Father of the Latin peoples, retained his pre-eminent position An oath taken before Jupiter remained of binding force and helped to preserve Roman fidelity and reverence for truth

How the patrician ruling class of Rome sought to retain its monopoly of power in earlier times by using religious observances and superstition to defeat the ambitions of the plebeians, has been recounted in an earlier chapter (pp 179–186) Very much weakened in Cicero's time, it was a device by no means entirely given up Bad as that record was, at least the Romans never fell under the sway of a tyrannous priesthood Their priests were apt to be politicians in another form Among a democratic body of electors, many of whom were daily performing religious duties in their own homes, the members of the priestly orders were distinguished by their dignity as the magistrates were, but no longer for the monopoly of any vitally important religious powers or secrets of State Cicero himself had been elected into the venerable College of Augurs at the age of fifty-three and it seems evident that he derived a good deal of satisfaction from the honour In his book on *The Laws* he plainly stated his 'sincere belief' in the art of divination 'and that the flight of birds and other signs which the Augurs profess to observe, form a part of this divination' He did not know, he said, why anyone should deny the existence of such an art 'when we grant the existence of the Supreme Gods, their intellectual government of the universe, their benevolent concern for the interests of the human race and their power of granting us intimations of future events'

But he had a very difficult case to defend The system of sacrifices, omens and revelations from on high would not stand examination Old Cato the Censor, a conservative and die-hard if ever there was one, had said that he could not understand how two *haruspices* or diviners could pass in the street without grinning at each other Cicero could not forget this fatal thrust and often repeated it More recently than Cato, one of the best-known Roman Augurs had written a book in which he plainly declared that the auspices were merely got up for the interests of the

State Nor could Cicero deny their usefulness as a method of government He knew well enough that they had often 'furnished a plausible method of adjourning useless or mischievous assemblies For in this way it has often happened that the Gods have suppressed by means of auspices the unjust impetuosity of the mob' If the Augurs had indeed the power Cicero boasted they possessed 'of dismissing the assemblies of the people of annulling their enactments of commanding Consuls to lay down their office of granting or refusing permission to form treaties of abrogating laws, of ratifying edicts of the magistrates' they might have been the rulers of the Republic. How little all this supposed power amounted to was quickly shown by Marius and Sulla a generation before Julius Caesar declared the Republican constitution to be no more than a sham. In 59 B C Caesar, as Consul, was pushing ahead with his land reforms to the dismay of the best citizens, when his colleague Bibulus tried to hold him back by frantic protestations that all business must stop because he was going 'to look for lightning' Caesar soon showed him how little religious obstacles meant to a determined man. And Caesar had been elected *Pontifex Maximus* a bare four years earlier, purely of course for the political wires the office enabled him to pull

Cicero himself was inconsistent in his remarks, for in his treatise on *Divination* he states all the rational objections to belief in the practice, illustrated by many examples drawn from Roman history, and concludes, 'Let us reject, therefore, this divination of dreams as well as all other kinds For to speak truly, that superstition has extended itself through all nations and has oppressed the intellectual energies of almost all men and has betrayed them into endless imbecilities ' But although Cicero and the men of his age had no real faith in the traditional religious beliefs of the Roman people, they had by no means proceeded to complete atheism or a clear affirmation that there were no gods

Cicero on the Good Life

For the sake of a quiet mind Cicero advised his countrymen to forsake superstition in favour of 'a religion united with the knowledge of nature', otherwise they would find no rest 'whether you consult a diviner, or have heard an omen, or have sacrificed a

victim, or beheld a flight of birds; whether you have seen a Chaldean or a soothsayer, if there is lightning or thunder; if anything is struck by lightning, if any kind of prodigy occurs, some of which events must be frequently coming to pass so that you can never rest with a tranquil mind' While believing that if he could entirely eradicate all such superstitious errors he would be doing great service to his countrymen, he was careful to point out that there was no fear 'that true religion can be endangered by the demolition of this superstition, for it is the part of a wise man to uphold the religious institutions of our ancestors by the maintenance of their rites and ceremonies' He seems to have tried to combine what most appealed to him in the Epicurean and Stoic teachings

Like all Romans, the real bent of his mind was towards the practical problems of everyday life, and when he came at the end of his days to sum up for the benefit of his son, in his book *De Officiis*, his ideas on the rules a man should follow if he is to lead a good life, he had not much to say about religion He based his plan upon men as they are, concentrating however upon their unique possession of reason Not for him, however, was the pursuit of wisdom or the contemplative life the supreme ideal. He found other human characteristics – the urge to self-preservation and the perpetuation of the race, and the strong tendency towards human co-operation in society – more congenial as a foundation for a Roman way of life Consequently thoughts about Justice, by which alone society can be preserved and maintained, loom large in his work Following, in the fashion of Socrates, where the argument led him, he did not hesitate to condemn, as contrary to justice, many features of the life of his time He declared against the use of naked force instead of argument and negotiation, whether in domestic concerns or in foreign relations War as a means of getting rich, of winning power or glory, he accordingly condemned What was not permissible among neighbouring nations should also be forbidden at home, and Cicero's was one of the few resolute voices of antiquity demanding humane treatment for slaves This was at a time when most Romans were probably content with the attitude displayed by Varro, one of his contemporaries, who in his book on agriculture repeated the division of 'the instruments of agriculture', current at the time, into 'the class gifted with speech' (slaves), 'that which

has inarticulate voice' (oxen), and 'that which is voiceless' (waggons)

With his pronounced emphasis upon humanity and the social virtues, Cicero was not prepared to consider courage as a supremely glorious quality It must, he thought, be exhibited on behalf of other virtues, notably justice, before it can unreservedly be praised.

The last of Cicero's cardinal virtues, temperance, is also clearly related to the pre-eminent position he gives to justice in the life of society It must qualify the otherwise natural love of distinction which drives everyone forward It must also, like justice, teach men to moderate their thirst for wealth and power Here he had in mind not only the rich, like Crassus, and the great, like Caesar ('wild beasts in human form' he called them), but all the army of tax-gatherers, money-lenders and business men whose avid competition for the means of their own self-satisfaction gave no thought to the good of the Republic as a whole He did not deny that the pursuit of things useful to life (*bonum utile* or economic aims) had its place but, as we have seen, he rated them below the supreme values of justice, truth, and goodness (*bonum honestum*) On the value of beauty and the arts of life (*bonum jucundum*) he had, like most of his countrymen, no special teaching to offer

In his subsequent book on *The Laws*, Cicero prescribes the sort of religious observance he would like to see in a reformed Republic It was essential, he thought, 'to persuade our citizens that the Gods are the lords and rulers of all things and that what is done, is done by their will and authority, that they are likewise great benefactors of man, observing the character of every individual, what he does, of what wrong he is guilty and with what intentions and with what piety he fulfils his religious duties'

On such a foundation a State would, he thought, be securely based, 'for surely minds which are imbued with such ideas will not fail to form true and useful opinions' He proceeds to draw up a religious system and a series of injunctions in the best tradition of the early Republic For he agreed when his brother pointed out that his plan 'does not differ a great deal from the laws of Numa and our own customs' Numa was the legendary king who, at the end of the eighth century B C, was supposed to have succeeded Romulus, the founder of Rome, and to have drawn up the earliest laws and the earliest religious code of the City Cicero

infuses something of real religious earnestness into his moral law, which begins by commanding that the people 'shall approach the gods in purity, bringing piety and leaving riches behind' In the main Cicero is harking back to the best practices of the olden time, and he does not advance matters much beyond the practical matter-of-fact round of customary rites and practices hallowed by long observance Upon this unimaginative, yet on the whole decent, code of clean living and respect for higher things, Christianity was later to exert its revolutionary influence

By Cicero's day the earlier joyous confidence that Greek thought would suceed in solving the riddle of the universe had departed The successors of Plato and Aristotle, as commonly happens when a critical age succeeds an age of inspiration, were running up one blind alley after another and a sense of disillusion was turning men's thoughts from the great problems of metaphysical philosophy into narrower questions of ethics and conduct The Stoics and Epicureans to whom Cicero had listened had arrived at a sceptical conclusion 'Our school', he said, 'maintains that nothing can be known for certain We say', he went on in a curiously modern tone, 'that some things are probable, others improbable' Here he follows, as often, the views of the Academics, as the followers of Plato are called

Nevertheless his letters abound with expressions of the immense resource which his studies were to him 'My one refuge is philosophy and literature,' he said in the dark days It was a devotion that increased as time went on 'Could I have kept alive had I not lived with my books?' But there were not many like Cicero, for the philosophers in all ages have been a small minority

It is true that many well-to-do aristocratic Romans were in the habit of employing a Greek philosopher in their household, somewhat in the same way that wealthy Englishmen of the Renaissance and later had their own clergyman as a private chaplain and tutor Of vastly greater moment were the foreign beliefs brought to Rome by the hordes of slaves, particularly those from the East Religious persecution was unknown in Rome during the Republic The worst the Senate would undertake against unsavoury religious practices was to forbid them within the city walls but not to interfere with them beyond the city limits In this way some new currents in the world of thought and religious emotion began to permeate Roman society There were, to

be sure, some strange, un-Roman doctrines among them Alexandria, the meeting place of Greek, Egyptian, and Oriental influences, was one of the main centres from which, in the first century B C , came the more striking of the new notions about the nature, mission and destiny of man Compounded of older Greek theological, other-worldly and mystical doctrines associated with thinkers such as Pythagoras, and blended with ascetic teachings of the Jews of Palestine and Syria – derived perhaps by them in turn from Buddhist missionaries of a previous century – they invited the old-style Roman to take a view of the world very different from that which he had learned from his elders and ancestors For he was now told to reject the world and all the manifold temptations he was so eager to embrace Personal possessions, according to the new doctrines, must be renounced in favour of a communal life in which property would be held in common Meat-eating and wine-drinking were to be given up along with animal sacrifices Instead of loyalty to ancestral habits and traditional morality sufficing as a guide to life, a new model, to be found in the life and the deeds of one ideal man, was proposed for veneration To Romans of the old school this was a new way of thought, for they never seem to have believed that a man could become godlike, still less a god

To achieve perfection on this new plan, men were invited to live apart from the rest of the world in religious communities or as hermits, thereby introducing the new notion of spiritual leadership quite foreign to Roman notions, to whom a priest was but a very respectable kind of public servant or magistrate With this call to a new way of life went a distrust of the power of purely intellectual reasoning on Socratic lines and a marked preference for trusting instead to spiritual intuition and mystical illumination The first faint beginnings of such influences in Rome are traceable in men such as Cicero's friend P Nigidius Figulus, scholar, astrologer and mystic, but apart from a very few such oddities without real influence, the Romans had no inkling of the fact that men preaching a new doctrine, destined truly to turn the world upside down, would one day come among them also

Cicero himself, despite his matter-of-fact Roman way of life and Greek ways of thought, stood in considerable and somewhat strange contrast to his own large circle of aristocratic, cultured friends Indeed, he found it necessary to explain and to apologize

for habits that kept him in his library when he was expected in the Forum, at the Games or at some social gathering. And he stood in still more marked contrast to the uneducated mob of Rome. They would never read Cicero, still less Plato or Aristotle. Denied the guidance of religion and without the consolations of philosophy, they weltered in conditions sufficiently sordid to provoke despair, the sudden outbursts of violence to which despair is naturally prone, and a curiosity, passive at first but easily stimulated into an active desire for some new thing, perhaps even for a new way of life.

Aristocrat and pauper shared a common spiritual destitution. No spark had as yet kindled the blaze that was to light a beacon to guide their footsteps into the way of peace. Long years of torment and suffering were to pass before in that new dawn fresh meaning and value were to be added to the impoverished lives of the sons and adopted sons and daughters of Romulus.

Cicero on Roman Law

Religion in the first century B.C. had no stirring message of hope for the masses in Rome. Ethical and philosophical thought were above their heads. They were also hardly touched by the development of Roman law which already was showing signs of becoming the stabilizing force in society that it was later to be. Roman law began to make steady progress after the early days of the Twelve Tables. It had become progressively freed from the shackles of the priesthood. For this improvement the Praetor had been largely responsible. The annual edict or declaration of broad legal rules made by successive Praetors had gradually formed a compact body of law. Every Praetor had previously served an apprenticeship in the art of ruling since none but Quaestors and Aediles could be elected as Praetors. They would all be Senators, accustomed therefore to debate and deliberation upon public questions. Many would, like Cicero, have begun their career defending and prosecuting before Roman Praetors in the Forum. In relation to the modest development of law in Republican times they were as well-equipped to serve as judges themselves as are the barristers and counsel from whom our own legal bench is recruited today. Cicero said that most of his contemporaries thought that the place to look for the real core of Roman legal

doctrine was in the Praetorian edicts. It was an eminently concrete, matter-of-fact body of doctrine dealing with persons and things and having little to do with abstractions, with jurisprudence or with legal philosophy

The *Praetor peregrinus* (p 174) had done still more to encourage the notion that law and justice were not mere racial privileges of the Roman people but the birthright of mankind It was new for this idea to become operative in human society, yet already two centuries before Cicero's day and long before they first encountered Greek thought or any other philosophy the Romans, thanks to the influence of this court, were acting, whether they realized it or not, on the principle that equity should be the basis for the decisions of their courts The doctrine was not lost upon Cicero He had not been a student of Plato in vain, whom he called 'that divine man who had inspired me with such admiration'. Cicero followed Plato in believing that the law depended upon the principles of right which it was the business of philosophy to teach mankind He was able therefore to see further into the problem than many of his contemporaries, so that for him the law was a sacred subject, not 'a thing contrived by the genius of man nor established by any decree of the people but a certain eternal principle, which governs the entire universe'.

In a magnificent passage in his book on the *Commonwealth* or *Republic* which has survived as a quotation in a book of a later writer, he gave imperishable expression to this great idea 'True law is indeed right reason, conformable to nature, pervading all things, constant, eternal It is not lawful to alter this law, to derogate from it or to repeal it Nor can we possibly be absolved from this law, either by the Senate or the people, nor may we seek any other standard by which it may be explained or interpreted It cannot be one law for Rome and another for Athens, one thing today and another tomorrow, but it is a law eternal and unchangeable for all people and in every age, it becomes as it were general master and governor, the one God of all, itself its own author, promulgator and enforcer He who does not share this sentiment flies from himself and nature as a man despised'

Again in his work on *The Laws* Cicero returns to this theme 'Law is neither a thing contrived by the genius of man nor established by any decree of the people, but a certain eternal

principle which governs the entire universe, wisely commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong'

Romans did not, as the people of Israel, achieve the unifying belief in a single God, but thanks to their sound democratic instinct aided to some extent by Greek inspiration they were capable, as these passages from Cicero show, of rising to the grand philosophical idea of a universal principle of justice Their ultimate failure firmly to build on this early foundation is no part of the history of the Republic Nevertheless, long after Greek had become an almost forgotten language, men read and pondered Cicero's words so that they entered into the stream of European civilization, guiding men's thoughts about the nature of law to an extent that no other non-religious writing was so well able to do

Cicero cannot be blamed if his vision of justice was not shared by the narrow-sighted men of his time Had it been, the worst disasters by which the Roman Republic was overtaken might have been averted Instead, those able to seize power in the Republic selfishly sought to use it for their own personal advantage

Chapter Eighteen

THE SICKNESS OF ROMAN SOCIAL LIFE

HAVE the facts, so far narrated in this work, provided a sufficiently sound basis for general conclusions about the social condition of the latter age of the Roman Republic which may serve as clues to the reason for its disintegration and collapse? Probably we shall never know enough to warrant any confident pronouncement on the subject. Yet we must make the best of what facts we have and use them to devise some general picture, however tentatively drawn.

The Changed Social Outlook

Rome in Cicero's day was clearly a busy, complicated, and very troubled place. It was also modern in the sense that its inhabitants looked out upon their world very much as most people do today. That is to say they concentrated upon their personal interests, upon the everyday things and practical problems of this workaday world. It is so much our own attitude that the question naturally arises, 'What else might they be expected to have done?'

It seems clear that all classes of the ancient Romans of the early Republic, like many of the English and French in the early Middle Ages, would have found an answer to this question with an ease denied to ourselves today or to the Romans around Cicero. Doubtless, in those earlier days, they took care to get enough to eat and drink, to provide themselves with clothing and shelter. But this was not that part of their lives which seemed most important to them. They found the real satisfaction of living in taking part with their families and their fellows in traditional common social and religious observances. Beyond the means of sustaining and enjoying their daily life, their minds and therefore their interests were occupied in following the routine devised for them by their ancestors and paying observance to the remote and unknown forces which their forefathers had imagined or invented to account for all the mysterious happenings around them, which they were otherwise at a loss to explain – earthquakes,

storms, drought, disease. Life had a kind of pre-established social harmony to which each individual contributed and beyond which he or she never thought to stray.

Such a society had its own meaning and purpose. As long as the men and women composing it were content to go on in the old ways the harmony was preserved and with it the strength which came from internal union. It knew evil and distress, but they came mainly from external causes – famines or wars. A uniform, automatic social pressure was sufficient to curb any rebellious characters who sought to create disturbances. For power in social matters is no twentieth-century novelty. Rigid and uncompromising as the power of custom was, it was also able to make the necessary compromises when altered circumstances made change essential. So year after year, without pause or question, Consuls succeeded Consuls, citizens came forward for their military service, paid their taxes, grew their crops, maintained their modest homesteads, sacrificed to the gods, met in their political assemblies to elect officials from their own ranks and to decide their public business with a minimum of fuss and bother, employing very few civil servants and no policemen. Then came the marvellous expansion of Roman power. Within one or two generations the leading Romans acquired what, for them, was a great fortune. It provoked a crisis and sudden change. The individual atoms making up Roman society no longer kept their accustomed place. So many began to break out of their old orbits that social harmony was shattered. A tremendous release of energy thereupon occurred, as it does when a chemical atom is split. But the energy lacked direction. The rule became 'everyone for himself'. At first this social revolution was probably confined to the relatively few leading political and financial families of the city of Rome and the fashionable resorts near by. But it must soon have had wider repercussions. For the emphasis was increasingly put upon private wants, private ambitions, private possessions, personal enjoyment and ease of life, on all the things which divide instead of unite man with man. They also greatly inflame social discontents. They set the poor against the rich, for in an age when all the emphasis is upon wealth, great is the frustration of those forced to remain poor. It is no very profound discovery of our own time that frustration, sufficiently intense and prolonged, almost always develops strongly aggressive attitudes

in the victims No wonder therefore that violence and street battles on a scale unheard-of began to disfigure life in Rome. That nearness of some men to the beast of which the most frightening modern symptom has been the rise of the police-state, became revoltingly apparent The Roman mob clamoured increasingly for blood-sports, delighted in watching gladiators kill each other and revelled in wild beast fights in the arena. The poison infected everybody

> Now Roman is to Roman
> More hateful than a foe
> And the Tribunes beard the high
> And the Fathers grind the low

All such symptoms pointed to a fundamental malady, as Cicero was sufficiently aware 'Today', he declared, 'our moral sense is depraved and demoralized by our worship of wealth' Was not his plaintive motto '*concordia ordinum*' or 'co-operation between the Senators and the *Equites*' a plea for the restoration of a vanished social harmony? No remedy indeed, but a description of the state of society which a remedy ought to produce, could it have been found

Hence, it was wishful thinking, academic and antiquarian, because harmony could not be restored by the spellbinding oratory of which he knew himself capable. That was merely waving a magic wand Although Cicero's tactics were poor it would be unfair to leave the impression that his message was valueless It was 'academic' in the best sense, in that it taught a good doctrine, although at the time it was beyond Cicero's power to make the product of his own insight effective as a motive to action in the minds of his fellow men For 'philosophy has never touched the mass of mankind except through religion,' and Cicero was no religious prophet Nevertheless, his political and ethical teaching influenced the later reconstruction of Roman government, and it endured to guide thinkers of the Middle Ages long after oxen grazed over the buried site of that Forum in which he had so long and so earnestly sought to persuade his fellow-countrymen to take the path of harmony and of peace.

This contrast between a society living a life of traditional routine and one dominated by self-seeking speculative rational-

ism and the urge to acquisitive adventure seems to provide a dividing line which helps to explain a great deal of what has happened in the past

When the old settled way of life of the early Romans, given over as it was to simple agriculture and handwork and governed by immemorial rites and practices handed down from father to son, began to change, and when the old religious and social routines gave way under the influence of vastly greater material comfort and luxury won by foreign conquests, then came the time of stress and strain for Romans also The old ordered framework of life began to break up and nothing took its place save a sudden breathless haste to conquer, possess, and enjoy the untold riches of an almost defenceless world The opportunity was undoubtedly enormously stimulating and the Romans, in grasping it, put forth an immense effort which radically changed their country and themselves What were they to do with their new Empire and their fabulous wealth? That was in itself a difficult problem, but they might have found a solution if they had been able to answer the still more difficult question, what were they to do with themselves?

They did not know, and therein lay their tragedy It was this Roman tragedy which was later to provoke the tremendous words 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' They had indeed gained the whole world and most of them seemed in the process to have forgotten they ever had a soul to lose They were rarely reminded of the fact, because the Roman religion cannot be said to have ranked as a powerful force to promote either individual peace of mind won through other-worldliness and spiritual development or that social cohesion or harmony which Cicero saw was lacking among all classes of his countrymen Groping for some clues to the disaster, the Romans themselves, followed by later writers, have blamed the decay of religion But can it be believed that the religion of the primitive Romans was an excellent system which, had it been preserved, might have saved the State? It was on the contrary merely one quality of the vanished old ways, superseded by new conditions of life that could by no means be reversed The breakdown of the Roman machinery of government was not due to irreverence shown to the ancient gods of Rome by Gnaeus Pompeius and Julius Caesar The real point is that without a new

system of beliefs and values to replace the old religion, the sophisticated Romans had no aim or purpose in their lives save the gratification of their senses and the enjoyment of their material prosperity Now whatever values the old Roman religion may have had, they did not include the germ from which higher spirituality and more refined ethical and moral standards might develop

There have been other completely unhistorical attempts to explain the fate of the Republic, less plausible than the decline of religion. Such for example is the notion that the death of the Republic was a stage in the class war and was due to an attempted uprising of the proletariat against their capitalist exploiters. Such catch-phrases, usually a substitute for thought today, certainly have no relevance to the world of ancient Rome The poverty-stricken masses of Rome, completely subordinated economically by the competition of slaves, were and remained politically insignificant, cowed by the sight of a few armed troops Despite the instinctive support they probably gave to legitimate government, they were ready to cheer any substitute for it clearly able to command them If Caesar's assassins had made good their defeat of one-man rule, as at one time they seemed likely to succeed in doing, the Republic might have been pulled together on traditional lines by Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cicero and their friends The masses would then have accepted their lead, probably very much more readily than they bowed down before Antony and Octavian In the long run they stood to prosper more under a healthy Republic than they were ever to benefit from their Emperors, because a Republic could have provided many of them with that political freedom, education in self-government and responsibility they were for evermore to be denied But the words 'a healthy Republic' beg a large question and it is an unrewarding occupation to pursue the 'ifs' of history

Caesarism was no great manifestation of popular will It was not a popular political movement at all in the sense that there was a large 'Caesarist party' What above all dismayed Cicero was the indifference of the great mass not merely of the middle classes, but of the leaders of Roman society to the consequences of the duel between Pompey and Caesar His scorn of the 'fish-breeders' has already been quoted (p. 149) When the struggle was beginning, his friend Atticus had tried to encourage him by

speaking of 'the loyalists'. 'I don't understand whom you mean by "the loyalists" ', was Cicero's embittered reply. There were, he admitted, individuals who were loyalist, 'but when it is a case of political divisions, what we have to look for is classes and sets of loyalists. Do you regard the Senate as loyalist when it is owing to it that the provinces have no governors with *imperium*? ... or the *publicani* [the tax-gatherers and contractors] who having never been staunch, are now warmly in favour of Caesar? Or the financiers or the farmers whose chief interest is peace?' Such men, Cicero saw plainly, cared little for the form of government as long as they were left in peace. Perhaps there were many Romans who saw nothing in the dispute except the clash of two ambitious military leaders. The fight may not have seemed their fight since no political principle was clearly involved. Both Pompey and Caesar paid satisfactory lip-service to the Constitution. Neither fought under a revolutionary banner. But Cicero was more alert. He considered that too many of his fellows were 'lacking in spirit, as indeed most of us were who have lived the life of free men in a State that was itself wealthy and free'. He wrote this to one of his aristocratic friends, but everywhere it was the same. 'The burgesses of the country towns and the country people also talk a great deal to me,' he said. 'They don't care a farthing for anything but their lands, their poor villas, their paltry pence.' Habit and conservatism may have made them disbelieve in the possibility of any radical change, but in any case Cicero could not get them to admit that supreme values of personal independence or of political liberty were at stake for which they should make a determined stand.

'As to your question about the state of public affairs,' Cicero wrote to a friend in his old province of Cilicia, 'there is a most profound difference of opinion, but the energy is all on one side. For those who are strong in resources, arms, and material power, appear to me to have scored so great a success from the stupidity and lack of resolution of their opponents that they are now stronger in moral influence as well.' Caesar's terrific drive and energy swept everything before him. His opponents, conscious of their inadequacy, had no stomach for the fight. They were almost all appeasers at heart. Cicero, who saw more plainly than the rest what was at stake, was in a most unenviable position. After struggling for months in acute mental distress he resolved, against

his better judgement, to join Pompey whose many grievous shortcomings were thrown into sharp relief when he matched himself against Caesar. Cicero was urged along partly perhaps because of his youthful admiration for Pompey, partly by his exaggerated sense of gratitude for the little Pompey had done to get him recalled from banishment, but above all by mere class- or herd-instinct. Most Senators reluctantly chose Pompey as the lesser of two evils Confronted with the stark necessity of joining one side or the other and knowing that neither Pompey nor Caesar would restore the old Republic, Cicero at least confessed that he would do 'just what animals do who, when scattered, follow the flocks of their own kind. As an ox follows a herd, so shall I follow the loyalists or whoever are said to be loyalists, even if they take a disastrous course' Cicero was no coward but clearly he was not of the stuff of which great leaders are made Yet a generous view of this confession would see in it a blind faith in what he thought was the party of liberty against tyranny In rallying to such a cause, doomed although it was, he may have felt himself in harmony with the verse from the *Iliad* he was fond of quoting

> Nay, not the coward's death nor shorn of fame,
> But after some high deed to live for aye

The Roman Revolution, then, was no class war, no uprising of down-trodden masses, no crusade for great political principles Neither was it, despite the hero-worshippers of Julius Caesar, a necessary though painful incident in the career of a superman bringing a new economic, political, social and moral gospel to guide benighted humanity along new paths to higher things Pompey had no title to consideration in this respect No new idea on any subject is recorded as having originated with him In the bitterness of disillusion at seeing the Republic of his philosophical meditations lost beyond recovery, Cicero said that Pompey was a bungling fool and that his aim was not different from Caesar's 'The object of neither is our happiness,' he wrote. 'Both want to be kings'

To accuse a Roman of royal ambitions was of course about as far as political hatred could go Disregarding the word 'king' as a 'smear-word', what Cicero meant was that neither Pompey nor Caesar really cared a rap for the constitution of the Republic Clearly they had only a totalitarian solution for the state of

confusion which they found around them and which they, above all Caesar, had done much to create. Not that Caesar was a Hitler or Mussolini of the ancient world. So to describe him would be to import into the past a whole mass of ideas which have no meaning in those very different days. So to describe them might also suggest that these sordid figures of our own time, who conspired in an attempt to wreck Western civilization, possessed something of Caesar's genius and humanity, which they very plainly did not. Nevertheless, the seamy side of Caesarism needs exposing, particularly because Caesar has for centuries figured as one of the heroic types of the successful general and statesman and has been glowingly written up in consequence. Few hero-worshippers have gone so far in their praise of Caesar as Theodor Mommsen, who showed how great can be the servility and adulation which learned Germans reserve for the wholesale butchers of men.

Uncertain as we are of Caesar's real nature, his schemes and intentions, it seems plausible to believe that, without at first planning to become the supreme ruler of Rome, he was gradually forced to secure that position because his activities and ambitions stirred up so many enemies that he was driven to the point at which he could have no personal security unless he was in full control of the State. His own character and ability undoubtedly made his success possible, just as they explain his moderation and humanity in the exercise of supreme power.

Cicero, who often spoke and wrote of him, paid him this tribute five months after his assassination. 'In that man were combined genius, a power of reasoning, memory, literary skill, accuracy, depth of thought and energy. He had performed exploits in war, which, though calamitous for the Republic, were nevertheless mighty deeds. Having for many years aimed at being a king, he had with great labour and much personal danger accomplished what he intended. He had conciliated the ignorant multitude by presents, by monumental buildings, by largesses and by banquets, he had bound his own party to him by rewards, his adversaries by a show of clemency. He had already brought a free city, partly by fear, partly by indulgence, to a habit of slavery.'

These last words sum up Cicero's charges against Caesar, and they are formidable. As he reminded the Senate, there was nothing more shameful than for a Roman to become a slave.

'There is literally no life at all for one who is a slave All foreign nations can endure slavery, our State cannot' 'We have been born to dignity and to liberty, let us either preserve them or die with dignity' In the sense that their freedom to pursue an open career in politics and to influence public affairs had vanished, the Senators were indeed the slaves of Caesar Was so ignominious an end really merited by the 'chief men of the most honourable council on the whole face of the earth', as Cicero called them? Caesar has usually been excused on this ground It is said that the Senators of Rome were no longer fit to rule and that consequently it was necessary in the interests of peace and security to put one man in charge We should know by now how dangerous it is to approve such a 'totalitarian' solution merely because it results in neater and more efficient public administration Tyranny in fact is destructive It cannot create, for creation must come from the free development of individual lives, which is precisely what totalitarianism and one-man rule cannot possibly allow We should be false to the message of a thousand years of British history, and false to the very clear lesson of our own experiences from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the Fascist Revolution in Italy until the defeat of the Axis in 1945, if we took any other view of the matter than this Between Caesarism, however attractive as a short cut to efficiency, on the one hand, and the Rule of Law on the other hand, even if it means muddling through, there can be only one choice Cicero saw this very clearly 'Do you call slavery peace?' he thundered at the Senators 'Our ancestors', he reminded them, 'used to take up arms not merely to secure their freedom but also to acquire an Empire Do you think we ought to throw away our arms in order to become slaves? What juster cause is there for waging war than the wish to repel slavery in which even if one's master be not tyrannical, yet it is a most miserable thing that he should be able to be so if he chooses?'

While Romans spoke like this it is plain that they were by no means all of the feeble decadent type which the apologists of Caesarism like to pretend Neither would so many of them have become irresolute had they not been weakened by the unlawful shock tactics of Caesar himself For the habit of stirring up social unrest so as to be able to exploit the alarm, distress, and misery it creates, in the guise of the strong man who alone can restore peace

and security, was not a piece of political jugglery left to Hitler to invent. Caesar, who, said Cicero, had 'wasted all the power of genius which he had in a most brilliant degree, in a capricious pursuit of popular favour', also 'had this peculiar characteristic. whomever he knew to be utterly ruined by debt, and needy, even if he knew him also to be an audacious and worthless man, he willingly admitted him to his intimacy'. This is the principle upon which gangsters always proceed. How else can they get a following? Desperate characters are needed for desperate deeds. While Caesar had these dogs upon a leash, there was some hope of keeping them in check. But what a dangerous situation for Rome! The blind forces which Caesar had controlled broke loose at his death. Looking back on that troubled time from our own experience of government and social life, longer by 2,000 years than that of the Ciceronian age, it is not easy, after describing and explaining Rome's troubles, to suggest a remedy for them ourselves. Yet unless some answer is attempted it is surely rather arrogant to adopt the high moral tone to be encountered in some books on the Roman Republic where the many shortcomings of the Romans are described and denounced without any effort being made to set up the attainable standards the Romans might have been expected to reach.

A Policy of Reform for the Roman Republic

To begin with, there are two traps into which it is very easy to fall when thinking about the problems of the Roman Republic and ways in which they might have been solved. In the first place it is almost impossibly difficult to shed our own experience and to look at the problems themselves as Cicero and his contemporaries would have done. But assuming that the problems themselves are seen in their true proportions from a Roman point of view, there is in the second place a serious risk that our answers to them will be suggested by our own experience which naturally no Roman could properly understand.

Either mistake would be as ludicrous as a picture of Cicero in Mr Gladstone's top hat and frock coat. Added to these two difficulties is the further fact that, despite great progress in the twentieth century, we do not yet sufficiently understand the interaction of the complicated network of forces in play in any society,

our own included, in order to be able to foresee with complete confidence all the direct and indirect results of undertaking any one line of social action

If therefore the knowledge and mental energy of the average person today does not provide a satisfactory understanding of our own society, as it clearly does not, how can we expect to succeed in interpreting the society of Rome, in stating its problems or in recommending ways of solving them? No doubt we may rely upon certain broad principles that must guide every society We may believe that history is fundamentally the story of human liberty We should then hold that the aim of Cicero's enlightened ruler should have been, without suddenly and dangerously limiting the liberties and freedom of the aristocracy, to begin a programme of social betterment, increasing political activity and increased prosperity for the common people But such generalities do not advance matters very far A reformer's programme for Rome needs to be much more concrete, with a series of detailed recommendations on all the major problems of the time At the risk – and it is serious – of being unhistorical in addition to being inadequate and possibly wrong, an attempt may be made to outline what should have been, from our twentieth-century vantage point, the main projects in a five years' or ten years' reconstruction scheme for Republican Rome Look first at the economic problems There was, in the face of mass poverty, unemployment, and a generally low standard of living, a great need to raise the level of production in agriculture, manufacturing and distribution

The Economic Problem

The agricultural problem in Roman eyes was above all a problem of land-tenure, because they were looking at the unemployed city mobs and ex-soldiers with one eye while the other eye saw the huge cattle ranches north and south of Rome, bare of human habitation. Yet because of the underlying geological factors (Chapter 3) and the easy import of cheap grain, the ranches were undoubtedly the most economical and efficient use to which the land could then be put The mild coastal plain assured winter feed in the open, while the mountain pastures were green in summer when the coastal plain was scorched brown Aided by the skill of the Carthaginians, whose agricultural

wisdom had been summed up in a book in the Punic tongue by Mago that had been translated by order of the Senate around 140 B C, it is unlikely that the Romans did not know their business The ranchers worried no more about the fate of the displaced smallholder than the sheep-owners in sixteenth-century England worried about the social results of the enclosure movement they found personally profitable In much the same way, 'sheep, the devourers of men', as Sir Thomas More was to call them, together with oxen and horses left no room for the small cultivator in Rome of the second and first centuries B C Then, as in the sixteenth century, the social effect of the untrammelled operation of economic forces raised strong complaint on moral grounds Such laments can evoke little sympathy from an economist, whose concern is and must be to apply all the factors of production in such a way as to maximize output and to minimize waste and inefficiency Instead of deploring the cattle ranches as the ruin of Italy, as the moralists did, they might have sought compensation elsewhere for the dispossessed, by a vigorously maintained emigration scheme for example to the rich plain of the Po in the Gallic north Instead, the Roman Republic exhibited very little interest in colonies inside or outside Italy after the need for them as military outposts had disappeared Caesar however seems to have intended to embark upon just such a policy.

One modern remedy of trying to create centres of new industries on trading estates or of planning the location of industry was not open to the Romans, who witnessed little industrial expansion and who made no striking inventions Rome never was and has never become a place of manufacture for export Consequently the Romans were unable to seek economic progress as the modern world has done by combining the accumulation of capital resources with mechanical inventions

In agriculture and in industry, the Romans were heavily handicapped by one of the resources they did most to develop That slavery impoverishes and cannot enrich a nation may seem a paradox, particularly in an economically primitive age when, as in Rome, all the activities in the farming calendar, except perhaps ploughing and harrowing, depended upon the muscular exertions of men The cheaper the labour, the better, it might be thought There can be no doubt that the slave-owner's profits were larger than they would have been had he employed free

labourers at a wage, but this very fact demonstrates that he got his profits at the expense of the Roman nation which is another name for the total population of free men and women Farmers may have been able, as Cato's figures show (Chapter 4), to maintain two slaves for the cost of one free labourer, but for every two human animals they bought from the slave-traders they necessarily decreed the elimination of one free Roman and his family. And farmers were by no means the only people profiting from this sordid traffic in human flesh and blood Slaves may have yielded profits to their employers in agriculture and industry, but if one fact is abundantly clear from the doctrines of political economy it is that the motive of human co-operation in agriculture, industry and commerce is not merely that employers may make profits but that mankind may more effectively provide for its wants by dividing up the world's work and by getting everybody to specialize on certain parts of it When large numbers of men and women are slaves working for one master's needs, the effective division of labour in society is lamed and impeded both by the inability of the slaves to work for others and by their equal inability to consume, in exchange for their products, those goods and services that would have been placed upon the market by their fellow inhabitants had there been any call for them Gresham's law that bad money drives out good has its parallel in the field of labour where honest toil cannot compete against artificially depreciated labour Caesar must also have seen this for as Dictator, in 45 B C, he made a rule that one-third of the shepherds on the huge cattle-ranches had to be men of free birth

If every Roman had owned one or two slaves to work mainly for him alone slavery might have been an economic advantage to the nation, but even then it would have been an advantage to be had only at the cost of a great reduction in the total number of free Romans. And, of course, the fatal political and social evils that follow in the wake of slavery would still have to be taken into account The economic disadvantages of slavery moreover are not exhausted by its adverse effects upon the current production and exchange of goods and services They extend into the future by removing the stimulus to invention Without slavery to provide a cheap motive power and a source of energy, the Greeks and perhaps the Romans might have been driven to seek those methods of increasing productivity by mechanical means that for

us so decisively divide the new world from the old In that event they might, in time, have succeeded in improving their knowledge of fuels and metals and so have enormously stimulated their industrial production and their means of communication

Irrespective of such highly speculative possibilities, it seems evident that despite the delusive appearance of rapid progress occasioned by successful war which brought loot, slaves and tribute to Rome, the economy of the ancient world as a whole was, in relation to that of the modern world, stationary, instead of being dynamic and progressive This economic clue to the fundamental nature of the social life of the ancient world is not usually given the emphasis it merits. It puts a sharp limit to the notion that the material conditions of life could have been much improved for the masses by economic action The great principle of securing progressively increasing returns to human labour in industry still lay undiscovered. In agriculture, far from there being hope of securing increasing returns, the Roman farmer was ousted by the contrary principle as he saw the returns to his labour on the fields diminish owing to the exhaustion of the soil and the lack of manures with which to restore it

The conclusion must be that it could not have been merely through an economic plan that an enlightened ruler of Rome would have been able to rescue his fellow countrymen Every available device had already been tried a hundred years previously by Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (pp 67–74) Caesar himself had nothing strikingly new to offer

The Political Problem

This verdict that there was but little real hope of a cure for Rome's troubles by economic remedies has rarely been declared, no doubt because economic grievances were not, after all, as serious a cause of public unrest as they would be today They certainly should not have been able to wreck the constitution of the Republic for they were after all very largely local difficulties at Rome By far the greater part of Italy remained self-sufficient, hard-working with a reasonably adequate livelihood

Such a state of affairs stimulates the far greater attention that has always been devoted to the political difficulties of the Republic For it is in the world of politics rather than of economics that

the inadequacies of the Roman State, when they have been sought in any systematic way, have usually been located. They were indeed serious, yet, as the argument of this book has been concerned to show, it does not follow that a more efficient political and administrative machinery would by itself have guaranteed health and prosperity to the Republic.

It is true that the foundation of the State upon the people's will, admirable in theory though it might appear, was in fact most imperfectly secured. The adequacy of the franchise is not alone in question. More serious was the limited influence of the electors, who always voted simply for or against some specific proposal and never with any expectation or promise that an intelligent programme of continuous State activity would be undertaken in any one direction apart from war. A series of plebiscites provides altogether too feeble, too disjointed and too spasmodic a means of constituting a government. The Romans had not hit upon our practice which is to leave policy-making to political parties and to vote for or against those parties, not for or against specific proposals except on the rare occasions when, as in the United States, there is a referendum to the people on one important issue such as Prohibition. The party given the greatest number of votes then becomes the government and proceeds to direct the executive and administrative machinery of State to carry out its policy. In Anglo-Saxon countries it can normally count upon several years of office. Because party politics were unknown, there could be no professional specialization in politics for broadly national purposes. Without a system of representative government the crude and clumsy device of the plebiscite was the nearest the Romans were able to get to the reality of democratic action in politics. The policy-making function of the State was therefore never as properly effective as it should have been, neither was it well co-ordinated with the executive arm of government. On the contrary it lent itself in a marked manner to clever manipulation. A demagogue had only to devise a cunningly framed question to get public support. A wider franchise with elections held not in Rome only but throughout Italy, combined with a more vigorous local campaign by candidates for political office, would alone have provided a remedy. But the time had not come for such a development which is none other than the invention of a Parliament.

The internal weaknesses of the governmental machine as such have been analysed already (Chapter 9) and it is unnecessary to say more in general upon them than that they contributed to aggravate inefficiency and ultimately to paralyse the State as soon as harmony and concord in society was replaced by competition and strife The very remedies then sought for a political situation getting dangerously out of hand, including as they did bargaining, bribery, intimidation and violence, served but to aggravate the prevalent uneasiness and to contribute notably to the final collapse

So the Romans lacked a system of popular voting, political parties and administrative machinery In a very real sense, therefore, they hardly had a government at all as we know it The lack of anything so massive as a 'government' may not have been a very great embarrassment in the affairs of a small town, which is all Rome was in primitive times, but an Empire cannot be run without one There are too many things to decide, too much to learn and to remember, too great a need to understand and to observe fixed principles of action, too vast a responsibility and too much to do and to plan, for it to be possible to leave things to run themselves

Government, in short, means directed activity towards certain approved ends and it implies the possession of the means of action In the Roman Republic the sole effective means of executive action by the State in a time of crisis was provided by the army In a very real sense therefore military dictatorship was able to supply the first essential of government. It had no rival We may say that the army should have been subordinated to the civil power But there was no civil power There were Senators squabbling among themselves and business men making life difficult for Senators There were individuals playing their own hand who grew reckless as the stakes mounted and the gamble became more hazardous and more exciting 'The Republic is merely a sham' These actual words may not have been Caesar's but he saw clearly that the time had come to write this epitaph He was correct and the people seem to have realized the fact They gave their support to any man who would get something done The Senators did not qualify for their support, because they were more interested in trying to find ways of tripping up and removing the demagogues and agitators – as they would call them –

than in looking for remedies for the discontents and evils upon which the power of the agitators was nourished The troubles continued The agitators grew louder and the prestige and influence of the Senate steadily declined.

Failures in Loyalty and Leadership

Economic and political troubles cannot of course be isolated from each other and separately treated. Economic grievances, for which there was no short-term remedy, were exploited as political weapons and both stimulated division and rivalry Consequently they merged into the whole complex pattern of life itself as it was formed by more obscure but deeper forces at work in the country as a whole Old habits making for fixity and stability had been undermined Manners, morals and religion therefore were unable to exert their customary restraints making for docility, conformity and unquestioning obedience to the ways of ancestors whose example no longer evoked admiring reverence Under these and other pressures, such as those arising from the growing consciousness of the Italians of their stake in the Roman Republic, the rapid admixture of alien peoples with the Roman people and the growth and expansion of Rome itself, the social fabric of Rome was greatly changed

Reflective Romans perceiving this state of affairs were at a loss to know what to do. Energies were wasted upon flaying the degeneracy of the age, on extolling the virtues of the past and on inviting loyalty to an obsolete and possibly misinterpreted model of society

Confusion about the proper ends of political action paralysed the will to act For any plan to succeed, one preliminary condition had to be fulfilled The Romans needed the will to reform and a courageous faith that joint action and persistent patient effort would see them through Their political and social system collapsed because they lacked this inspiration Every problem and every possible solution therefore are involved in an initial difficulty how could such a common front and co-operative endeavour have been mounted? Had a genius arisen able to propose a true new model, the possibility of gaining assent for it was slight There were no schools, no newspapers, no means of appealing to the masses who were avid for cheap bread, gladiator

shows, wild beast fights, circus-races and any temporary excitement In such circumstances the temptation to direct action by one man could not become strong until he was backed, or thought he was backed, by a powerful body of friends and retainers and above all with a loyal army behind him Strong leadership might emerge from such a situation which indeed clamoured loudly for just such guidance, but it would not necessarily have been leadership under the rule of law, without which we have in our own time seen leadership to be the biggest curse great nations have ever been forced to endure

It seems that to many Romans there was no alternative but to trust in a leadership that might easily spell ruin There was no help for it All alike seemed driven by some desperate necessity to their fate Cicero at least, one of the wisest and most intelligent of Senators, would not have known what to do had some miracle suddenly put him in the place of that enlightened ruler for whom he longed Despite his inadequacy, he was on the side of the angels, for in comparison with his contemporaries, Julius Caesar included, he stood out as a great advocate of the eternal values of the human spirit

A Statesman's Manual

Yet those Romans who, like Cicero, had read the works of Plato and Aristotle must have known that Rome's troubles were not new in the ancient world Aristotle, who died over 200 years before Cicero was born, describes in his writings called *The Politics* the causes of political troubles very like those of Rome There was, he said, a form of democracy 'in which not the law but the multitude have the supreme power and supersede the law by their decrees This is a state of affairs brought about by the demagogues ' It needed but a short step for a demagogue to set himself up as a tyrant or dictator History had already proved to Aristotle that 'almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favour of the people by their accusation of the notables'

He preferred to see social justice established otherwise than through a revolution caused by economic discontents Everything possible should of course be done to relieve the troubles of the poor They should, he thought, be helped by being given an

opportunity to help themselves Let them be set up in trade or agriculture by being enabled to buy a small farm. He was against free doles because then 'the poor are always receiving and always wanting more and more Such help is like water poured into a leaky cask' Cicero must have thought of Caesar's creature Clodius and his free corn dole to almost every family in Rome when he read those words Aristotle knew that political and social problems cannot be solved merely by economic action Much more than the struggle for wealth and possessions is involved. Economic activities are driven forward by acquisitive desires and 'it is of the nature of desire not to be satisfied' although 'most men live only for the gratification of it' It is true that the aim should be to produce a State 'composed as far as possible of equals and similars and these are generally the middle classes', for 'great is the good fortune of a State in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient property' Beyond that he was not interested to go because he believed that the mere pursuit of wealth is no worthy purpose for any man wishing to lead a good life

The contrary notion that a State in which no man possesses more than his neighbours might provide a short way to salvation for society did not deceive him He admitted that a law to equalize everyone's income had 'a specious appearance of benevolence .. men readily listen to it and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful manner everybody will become everybody's friend.' But he was under no illusion that men will begin to love their neighbours as soon as those neighbours prevent them from becoming rich Not money or possessions, but 'a very different cause, the wickedness of human nature' was for Aristotle the root of all evil.

With deeper insight, he saw that 'it is not the possessions but the desires of mankind that require to be equalized' Consequently he held that the moral reformation of man through education alone offered much hope of realizing that political and social progress he believed to be possible Despite their hard-headed good sense, the Romans do not seem to have grasped this essential truth. The diverse elements composing a State should, said Aristotle, 'be united into a community by education' For him 'the adaptation of education to the form of government' was the influence above all others to which he looked to 'contribute to

the permanence of constitutions' Such education, he thought, should be the same for all because 'women and children must be trained by education with an eye to the State . for the children grow up to be citizens and half the persons in the State are women' Slaves should have nothing to do with it The aim should be to establish good moral values without losing sight of the fact that 'the first principle of all action is leisure' leisure in which the good life is to be lived.

In his analysis of the causes of revolutions and the manner in which dictatorships are established and maintained, Aristotle used language which any free Roman might have regarded as a sentence of doom upon his liberties and as a compelling incitement to kill any man by whom they were threatened He sought further to show how constitutional governments should be preserved and how they should be administered Here he laid great stress upon 'the administration of justice the principle of order in political society'. 'There is nothing', he said, 'which should be more jealously maintained than the spirit of obedience to law, more especially in small matters, for transgression creeps in unperceived and at last ruins the State, just as the constant recurrence of small expenses in time eats up a fortune' On this great theme Cicero certainly followed Aristotle, whose words upon the supreme importance of the Rule of Law may well have inspired Cicero's own emphasis upon it (p 354) 'He who bids the law rule', said Aristotle, 'may be deemed to bid God and Reason alone rule, but he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast, for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even where they are the best of men The law is reason unaffected by desire'

The Romans, who suffered a Clodius to make war upon them for five years, shamefully ignored this first principle of government Aristotle's teaching contained plain warnings on other matters the Romans had begun to neglect, such as the rule against allowing the same persons always to rule or the same men to hold many offices, the danger of allowing men to buy their way into public office, as wealthy Romans did by providing free gladiatorial contests and other ruinously expensive displays 'Those who have been at the expense of purchasing their places will be in the habit of repaying themselves,' he said The Romans and still more their dependent peoples had good cause to agree with

his caution that 'special precautions' should be taken to ensure that 'above all every State should be so administered and so regulated by law that its magistrates cannot make money'

There was therefore no lack of sound wisdom and good advice on how to manage a State in Cicero's day. But the traditional wisdom of the Greeks helped the Romans no more than the far longer experience of mankind has aided our own contemporaries. For in our own day we too have seen the bankruptcy of government on a scale far more vast and more disastrous than that of the catastrophe by which the Roman Republic was engulfed We have seen self-appointed leaders, a Duce and a Führer, allowed to create and to develop a private force to such an extent that by luck, by bluff, and by an extravagant combination of propaganda and intimidation, they succeeded in overawing and replacing the government of their countries amid the rejoicings of a large number, if not indeed a vast majority, of their fellow citizens who apparently despaired of relief or salvation from other quarters What we witnessed was the surrender of liberty by millions of Italians and Germans They gave up one right after another, accepted new laws and consented to new restrictions until they were reduced to political slavery in which any attempt to resist was so brutally repressed that none save men of the greatest resolution dared to disobey We have seen how these same Nazi gangsters proceeded to apply the same tactics to their neighbours and by how narrow a margin and at what frightful cost they were withstood in order that civilization and humanity might be rescued from the rule of the jack-boot and the revolver We too have been forced to realize that 'when periods of barbarism and violence are approaching it is only for the vile and the foolish that the ideal becomes unfreedom and slavery' Cicero would have been able to say, 'That is what I also believed '

The Verdict of History

Today more than ever before it is important to get the story right How many people, misled by thoughtless praise of Caesar's genius, have in succeeding centuries right down to our own time been blinded to the danger of one-man rule? Not merely in Italy but in other parts of the world Mussolini's propaganda successfully suggested the notion of a revived Caesarism as a cure for the

blunders of democracy. Cicero's example and his teaching were unfortunately then forgotten. He may not have been alert to discover and repair the imperfections in the Republican constitution, but he did not make the mistake of thinking that abject surrender to an autocrat was their cure.

The quarrel between Cicero and Caesar has been perpetuated down the ages. Each has had his loyal partisans and equally bitter critics. But attitudes of praise and of blame, if they are to be assumed, must rest upon deep reflection and upon a scale of values which cannot be extracted from the bare narrative of events alone. History is a Muse, not a hanging judge, and what we should seek from her inspiration is understanding before verdicts. The temptation to continue the battle between these two great men is naturally strong because their fight seems to have been renewed in our own time on a grand scale in the struggle between the rule of law on the one hand and dictatorship by totalitarian police-states on the other.

Cicero has the enduring honour of having been one of the most eloquent champions of social harmony and of the rule of law. To many of his countrymen he may have appeared as one preaching a new doctrine. The tragedy of Rome lay in that fact. Yet he was not doing more than to distil for them, possibly in too literary and too philosophical language, the essence of the political experience of their countrymen as they had worked it out in hard trials through the centuries. The Romans of Cicero's day, having turned their backs upon the traditional morality, manners and customs of their grandfathers, were unable to advance rapidly enough to give their loyalty, as Cicero urged them to do, to an abstract ideal of a body politic governed by the rule of law and to revise their public and private lives so as to make it a living reality. More compelling urges and narrow personal ambitions blinded them to the grand principles of social unity and drove them, as such primitive urges always will, to seek short cuts to ease and happiness. How, in consequence, their government broke down, has been the theme of much of this work. The separate forces in it, particularly the elected magistrates, the sole and annually renewed legal source of executive authority in the Republic, were in Cicero's day no longer sustained in their sense of duty and kept in their proper place by the almost instinctive obedience their predecessors of the heroic age had unquestionably rendered to

the tradition of Republican government handed down to them by their forefathers.

Forgetful of their historic past, without having had a schooling in the philosophy of civil polity such as that which Cicero himself so enthusiastically absorbed from Plato, Aristotle and their successors, and not being interested in the forthright Roman form in which he tried so hard to pass it on to them, his fellow citizens had for the most part no other guide in the desperate confusion of their times than the promptings of their own desires and their own short-sighted self-seeking. They were unable to sink their selfish interests in self-effacing service to a greater cause than their own private hopes and ambitions as their ancestors of the heroic age were unreservedly willing to do Here lay the real change and here is the explanation of the decline and fall of the Roman Republic *

Whatever may have been Caesar's defects, he was not as short-sighted as the selfish politicians of Rome Did he not choose to sacrifice ten of the best years of his life to endure the boredom and hardships of camp life and campaigning in Gaul? He saw more clearly than Cicero that the old traditions of the Republic no longer had the power to activate the political and administrative machinery by which Rome rose to greatness Yet the first necessity of the State was that the government should be strong With the sure instinct of the born administrator and statesman, Caesar set about restoring, or rather creating for the first time as a permanent feature in the government of Rome, that unified line of command which had hitherto existed spasmodically when a Dictator had been created to deal with a special crisis in the country's fortunes There can be no question but that Caesar was right in his strenuous and momentarily successful effort to vitalize the executive power of the Republic. All that we have since learned about the principles of public administration confirms that without a line of responsibility, authority, or unified command, executive and administrative action is lame or paralysed

But government is more than administration and executive action These activities supply the means of government The ends of action, the purposes which government and administra-

* A fuller treatment of the underlying causes of historical change on these lines is attempted in Cowell, F R, *History, Civilization and Culture* (A & C Black, 1952)

tion are to achieve, have their source elsewhere. In the heroic age of the Republic, men were content to have traditional morality as their guide and as the source of their executive and administrative purposes and authority. When the men around Cicero no longer looked to tradition they ought, as he urged them to do, to have enthroned social harmony, social justice and the rule of law in its place. But his doctrine was too abstract, the law insufficiently developed, and the penalties of ignoring it not sufficiently appreciated, for many to be likely to listen to him.

Should loyalty to an undoubted leader of men have been a sufficient substitute for law or tradition as the guide and source of authority in the State? Caesar had nothing else to offer. At a high cost in Roman bloodshed and ruin he was prepared to prove that the State could be made to work on his basis of one-man personal leadership, and for a time he succeeded. It was not enough. Caesar's genius could not discover, declare and pursue the purposes and the welfare of the millions of human beings inescapably united and bound together in the great society known as the Roman Republic. A state runs a desperate hazard when its fate hangs upon the slender thread of one man's insight, life and health. If Caesar had lived would he not have saddled Rome with the burden of an absolute monarchy on Oriental despotic lines? These were the fears which turned Cicero's early admiration for Caesar into mistrust and aversion. For all his energy and far-sighted practical measures of reform, Caesar had no recipe for reviving the poor and deflated morale of his subjects. He had no great cause to put before them to which all could dedicate themselves. As great a genius as Napoleon, he had no foreign enemies against whom, in the heat of battle, he could forge some spirit of unity and common resolution in his people.

Beyond this, and beyond any mere economic and political adjustments, lay the supreme task of getting masses of human beings in time of peace to accept new meanings and values by which to direct their lives. In this truly superhuman task they had no guide or leader. Caesar perished and instead of a statesman and military genius the Romans had Caesar's sword to rule them. Mere military dictatorship had still smaller chances of survival than rule by genius.

Caesar, in contrast to Cicero, has often been praised for his creative vision and ability to see in advance the shape of things to

come, as though, of the men of Roman antiquity, he alone was clear-headed with his eyes upon the future, while Cicero has been dismissed as a muddler chained to the past and unable to see a future different in any essential way from that past. The matter is not so easily settled. Cicero was not muddled upon the question whether the rule of law is preferable to rule by gangsters. He may not have been a tremendously strong character but he tried to exert his strength, not for himself alone, but on behalf of his fellow men, and this in an age where by no means all public men strove to the limit of their powers, and when strength was too often displayed in mere brutality or grasping, limitless self-indulgence.

Pompey, Brutus, even Cato, may stand as examples of men who might have done more for mankind. Marius, Lucullus, Crassus and others, including the great Sulla, may typify those whose undoubted strength and energy brought little but misery to their fellow men.

If Caesar stands above such of his contemporaries so also, although on another plane of achievement, does Cicero. Neither spared themselves, both, but again in different degree, sought to realize their own vision of what the Roman Republic should be.

The world-shattering events of our own time have enabled us to see more clearly the desperate calamity with which Cicero and Caesar were forced to grapple. We may admire Cicero's resolute stand for the grand principles of political freedom which alone make life tolerable for men of spirit. Many generations of Romans were to suffer cruelly because these principles were no longer honoured. We may equally admire Caesar's stronger and more resolute determination to have done with drift and flabby lack of purpose, to hack his way through the appalling confusion in Rome and at all costs to make the machinery of government work so that administrative energies might begin to achieve worthy purposes in society. By adopting his policy, those who succeeded him were to renew the might of Rome and to spread ordered government and the rule of law throughout Western Europe and the Mediterranean lands. We may admire both points of view, and without pretending that the question between the two men is completely exhausted by the distinction implied, take our stand upon it at this particular epoch in world history. We may then say that the predominantly reflective genius of Cicero and

the predominantly practical genius of Caesar were of different orders of excellence, that both were needed then as they are needed in government everywhere, that their tragic story should be given a broader setting than that merely of their own characters, ability, performance, and fate because it deserves to be regarded as part of the great loom of human destiny upon which all men work out their lives

To see Caesar and Cicero, their friends and enemies and the millions of Romans whom they never knew, against this broad historical background will be to get as near as it is yet given to mankind to that vision of humanity *sub specie aeternitatis*, that godlike, unattainable comprehension which finds a place for all the relevant facts, which at the same time makes clear their explanation, their meaning and their message, and so guides and directs our footsteps as we, like Cicero and Caesar before us, wrestle with our own difficulties and encounter our own fate.

Fifteen years after Caesar perished, when peace came again at last to the troubled city of Rome, it was achieved partly because many of the actors in the great drama of Cicero's age had died, committed suicide, been killed, or had exhausted themselves and their countrymen in the miseries of a civil war too long drawn out The young men in the rising generation at Rome hardly knew the meaning of political liberty, neither had they had any experience of stable, orderly government The new peace was also partly due to the skill of that most unlikely young man, Octavianus, born in the year of Cicero's consulship, whom Cicero flattered but in whom he detected little sign of greatness He was Caesar's great-nephew and adopted son His was the great advantage of fighting under Caesar's colours and becoming the heir therefore to a mighty name and to the following it inspired amongst thousands of Romans He was a young man He had learned much from the failures of the elder generation of Roman statesmen, of Crassus, Pompey, Cicero, Cato, Antony, and of the great Julius Caesar If he also is regarded as a political gangster on the grand scale, he was a successful one, for he eliminated all his rivals Thereafter he had a lifetime in which to make his experiments in ruling, backed by overwhelming power as a virtual dictator He was helped too by the desperate desire of millions for peace and security at almost any price He had a free field. Patiently, persistently and firmly he devised and dressed up a more plausible source of State authority

so that the executive and administrative power of government could be more intelligently directed to serve public purposes and so ultimately to win acceptance by the majority of the peoples dependent on Rome On such a foundation was to be based that mighty Empire whose civilizing mission was to make Roman ways and Roman thought part of the very fabric of Western European civilization and of the national being of hundreds of generations knowing little or nothing of Cicero, Caesar, or the Roman Republic

So the edifice which Octavianus, as Augustus Caesar, the first Roman Emperor, erected upon the ruins which the bankrupt Republicans had pulled down upon themselves as they slaughtered Julius Caesar, was a more subtle and more complicated construction than Caesar could have devised or would have had the patience to build Pompey might perhaps have recognized it as a solution he had fumbled to find. It would probably have made less appeal to Cicero despite his wish for an enlightened ruler, but neither Caesar nor Cicero could have welcomed it wholeheartedly because it was designed for a new age and for a different race of men

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE vast literature devoted to the history of the Roman Republic is listed in the full bibliographies given in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vols. 7–10 (Cambridge University Press, 1928–34) The following list selects some of the books likely to prove most interesting and rewarding for general purposes

I. Roman and Greek Classical Works

Most of the works of writers of classical antiquity are now available in translation, e g

- *The Loeb Library*, published by Messrs Heinemann, especially Latin works by Caesar, Cato, Cicero, Livy, Ovid (the *Fasti*), Plautus, Terence, Sallust and Varro, and Greek works by Appian, Dio, Polybius and Plutarch The Loeb Library gives the original text and an English translation page by page A similar series for French readers is the *Collection Guillaume Budé* (Société d'Edition 'Les Belles Lettres')

Translations alone are available in such well-known series as.

- *Bohn's Classical Library* (Messrs Geo. Bell & Sons), containing an excellent translation of Cicero's Letters by E S Shuckburgh (4 vols , 1904) and older translations of Cicero's other works, Varro on Farming, translated by Lloyd Storr-Best, Appian (2 vols), Livy (4 vols), Plautus (2 vols), Pliny (6 vols), Plutarch's *Lives* (4 vols) and *Morals* (2 vols), Quintilian, Sallust, Terence
- *The Oxford Translation Series*, including Aristotle's *Politics*, translated by Jowett (1885) and later (1946) by Sir Ernest Barker
- *Macmillan's Series of Translations*, including Polybius, translated by E S. Shuckburgh
- *Everyman's Library*, published by J M Dent & Sons Ltd

II General Reference Works

There is no exhaustive modern encyclopaedia in English, but there is a wealth of nineteenth-century scholarship in the following works by Sir W Smith, published in various editions by John Murray

- *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd edition 2 vols.
- *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* 3 vols.
- *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* 2 vols

The French encyclopaedia is Daremberg, Ch et Saglio, E *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines* 10 vols 1877–1919

The great German encyclopaedia is Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enzyklopadie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1894– (still in course of completion)

Single-volume works include

The Oxford Classical Dictionary Oxford University Press, 1950
A Companion to Latin Studies Cambridge University Press, 1929
Companion to Roman History, by H. S Jones, Oxford University Press, 1912
Murray's Classical Atlas for Schools John Murray, 1917
Map of the Classical Lands of the Mediterranean National Geographic Society, Washington, D C , 1940.
Nairn, J A *Classical Handlist* Blackwell, 1953

III General Histories

Cambridge Ancient History, vols 7–10 Cambridge University Press, 1928–34

Ferrero, Guglielmo *The Greatness and Decline of Rome* (transl A. E Zimmern) Heinemann, 1907

Frank, Tenney *A History of Rome*. Holt & Co , New York, 1924 *Roman Imperialism* Macmillan, 1914

Grundy, G B. *A History of the Greek and Roman World*. Methuen, 1926.

Heitland, W E. *The Roman Republic*, 2nd (revised) impression 3 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1923

Holmes, T. R E *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire*. 3 vols Oxford University Press, 1923 *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* Macmillan, 1903

Marsh, F B *A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B C* Methuen, 1935

Meyer, E *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus* Stuttgart, 1918

Mommsen, Theodor *History of Rome* (transl W P. Dickson) 5 vols Macmillan, 1894, also in the Everyman's Library (Dent) in 4 vols *Romisches Staatsrecht*, and, with Marquarat, J . *Romische Staatsverwaltung* 7 vols 1871–82.

Rostovtzeff, M I · *A History of the Ancient World*, vol 2. *Rome* (transl J D Duff) Oxford University Press, 1930

Scullard, H H · *A History of the Roman World from 753 B C. to 146 B C.* 2nd edition Methuen, 1951

Syme, R · *The Roman Revolution* Oxford University Press, 1939

IV Books on Special Subjects

Abbott, F F *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* Scribner, 1909 *The Common People of Ancient Rome* Routledge, 1912

Allbutt, Sir T C *Greek Medicine in Rome* Macmillan, 1921

Altheim, Franz *A History of Roman Religion* (transl Harold Mattingly) Methuen, 1938

Aymard, J *Essai sur les Chasses Romaines* Boccard, Paris, 1951

Berriman, A E *Historical Metrology* J M Dent & Sons, 1953

Boissier, G *Cicero and his Friends* (transl A D Jones) Ward, Lock

Botsford, G W *The Roman Assemblies, from their Origin to the End of the Republic* Macmillan, 1919

Carcopino, Jérôme *Les Secrets de la Correspondance de Cicéron* L'Artisan du Livre, 1947 Transl as *Cicero, The Secrets of his Correspondence*, by E O Lorimer Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951

Cary, Max, and E H Warmington *The Ancient Explorers* Methuen, 1919

Clarke, M L *Rhetoric at Rome* Cohen and West, 1953

Cochrane, C N *Christianity and Classical Culture*. Oxford University Press, 1940

Cramer, F H *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*. American Philosophical Society, 1954

Fowler, W W *The Roman Festivals of the period of the Republic* Macmillan, 1899 *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* Macmillan, 1911 *Roman Ideas of Deity* Macmillan, 1914 *Social Life at Rome in the age of Cicero* Macmillan, 1908 *Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford University Press, 1920. *Julius Caesar and the Foundation of the Roman Imperial System* Putnam, 1892

Frank, Tenney *An Economic History of Rome*, 2nd edition Cape, 1927 (ed) *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol I Johns Hopkins Press, 1933 *Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome*. Harvard University Press, 1932 *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* Cambridge University Press, 1930

Frisch, H *Cicero's Fight for the Republic* Gyldendal Copenhagen, 1946

Glover, T R *Democracy in the Ancient World* Cambridge University Press, 1927

Grant, M *From Imperium to Auctoritas* A Historical Study of the Aes Coinage, 49 B C.–A D 14 Cambridge University Press, 1946

Greenidge, A H J *Roman Public Life* Macmillan, 1901 *Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time* Oxford University Press, 1901

Grenier, A S *The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought and Art* (transl M R Dobie) Kegan Paul, 1926

Grimal, P. *Les Jardins Romains* Boccard, Paris, 1943
Haarhoff, T. J. *The Stranger at the Gate* Longmans, 1938
Halliday, W R *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity* Liverpool University Press, 1925
Hammond, Mason *City State and World State*. Harvard University Press, 1951
Hardy, E. G *Some Problems in Roman History* Oxford University Press, 1924 *The Catilinarian Conspiracy* Blackwell, 1924 *Six Roman Laws* Oxford University Press, 1911
Haskell, H J *This was Cicero* Secker & Warburg, 1942
Heitland, W E *Agricola a study of agriculture and rustic life in the Greco-Roman world*, Cambridge University Press, 1921
Hill, H *The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period*. Blackwell, 1952
Homo, Léon· *Roman Political Institutions* (transl M R Dobie). Kegan Paul, 1929.
Jayne, W A *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* Yale University Press, 1925.
Jolowicz, H F *Historical Introduction to Roman Law* Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 1952
Kenyon, Sir F. G. *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome.* Oxford University Press, 1932
Lanciani, R A *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. Macmillan, 1897.
Launspach, C. W L *State and Family in Early Rome* G Bell & Sons, 1908
Lawrence, A W *Classical Sculpture* Cape, 1929.
Louis, Paul *Ancient Rome at Work* (transl E B F. Wareing) Kegan Paul, 1927.
McCartney, E S *Warfare by Land and Sea* Harrap, 1923
McDaniel, W B *Roman Private Life and its Survivals* Harrap, 1925
Mahaffy, J P · *The Silver Age of the Greek World* Chicago University Press, 1906.
Mau, August *Pompeii* (transl F W Kelsey) 2nd edition Macmillan, 1902.
Oman, Sir Charles *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic* Arnold, 1902.
Pais, Ettore *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (transl M E Cosenza). Sonnenschein, 1906.
Petersson, J: *Cicero, a biography* University of California Press, 1920.
Richards, G C. *Cicero* Chatto & Windus, 1935

Scullard, H H *Roman Politics, 220–150 B C.* Oxford University Press, 1951

Sellar, W Y *The Roman Poets of the Republic.* 3rd (revised) edition Oxford University Press 1889

Shepard, A McC *Sea Power in Ancient History* Heinemann, 1925

Sherwin-White, A N *The Roman Citizenship* Oxford University Press, 1939

Sohm, R . *The Institutes of Roman Law* (transl J C Ledlie). Oxford University Press, 1892

Strachan-Davidson, A L. *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic* Putnam, 1894 *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law.* Oxford University Press, 1912

Strong, E *Art in Ancient Rome,* vol 1 Heinemann, 1929

Sydenham, E A *The Coinage of the Roman Republic.* Revised edition Spink, 1952

Teuffel, W S., and L Schwabe *History of Roman Literature.* G. Bell & Sons, 1891

Thiel, J H. *Studies on the History of Roman Sea-Power in Republican Times* North-Holland Publishing Co , 1946

Weise, Fr Oscar *Language and Character of the Roman People* Kegan Paul, 1909

Wilkinson, L P . *Letters of Cicero, a new selection in translation* Bles, 1949

Wirszubski, Ch *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome* Cambridge University Press, 1950

The progress of the historical study of Rome should be followed not through books alone, of which the above list is merely a sample, but also through learned journals This study is fostered in Great Britain by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies (50, Bedford Square, London, W C 1), whose valuable annual Journal and specialized collection of books, periodicals and pamphlets offer the strongest inducement to all interested to become members

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

IN addition to general indebtedness to the sources mentioned above, special acknowledgement must be made to Messrs G Bell & Sons Ltd, publishers of E S Shuckburgh's translation of Cicero's Letters, L. Storr-Best's translation of Varro on Farming and of Bohn's Classical Library, and to the Johns Hopkins Press of Baltimore, U S A , publishers of Professor Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* for permission to quote material from those works

INDEX

Note: *cos* = Consul